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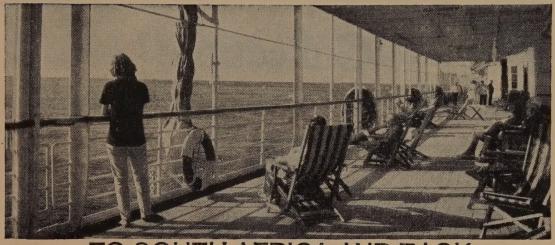
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# AFRICA

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## MATRILINY AND PAWNSHIP IN CENTRAL AFRICA

#### MARY DOUGLAS

TEW field material should give an opportunity for reappraising old research. Thus Father de Sousberghe's latest report on the Pende (1963) stimulates a radical revision of assumptions about Central African ethnography. Is there a recognizable type of kinship organization which we can call 'Central African'? The question was first raised by Gluckman in his introduction to The Lamba Village before any intensive field-work had been reported. At that stage his answer was that the typical Central African social system was characterized by lack of corporate lineages such as are found among the southern Bantu. These were the early days of post-war anthropology, and since he was using a negative criterion, he defined the sense in which he used 'lineage' as a genealogical structure whose members shared corporate rights and responsibilities. Before the ink was dry, however, Clyde Mitchell was sending in the first reports on the Yao, who are culturally much akin to the Maravi peoples, Nyanja and Cewa, among whom they live. According to Mitchell, the Yao were organized in distinct corporate matrilineal lineages. Gluckman did not tear up his introduction and write a new one. In an addendum he hoped that the unexpected discovery of corporate descent groups among the Yao would stimulate further inquiry.

Unfortunately the matter was treated as stalemate rather than stimulus. It is a pity that his precision in the use of 'corporate lineage' has not been maintained. It is now common in the ethnography of that region to read of lineages which have as little as three generations' depth and no very recognizable corporate character. What are the common rights which members of Cewa, Yao, Nyanja, Ambo, and Ndembu 'lineages' enjoy and transmit? I propose to raise again Gluckman's original question and to answer it by saying that not so long ago these tribes were organized in corporate descent groups in the fullest sense. Members of these corporate groups were able to claim transmissible rights in persons through the institution which I call pawnship. It has disappeared under colonial rule because when disputants tried to get settlement of their claims in the colonial tribunals the colonial governments viewed pawnship as a form of slavery to be suppressed forthwith. British Central Africa had been

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Africa', the Journal of the International African Institute, is published by the Institute, but except where otherwise stated the writers of the articles are responsible for the opinions expressed.

effectively colonized long before the arrival of the anthropologists of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, so that for evidence of pawnship in this area we must go to the reports of missionaries and early administrators. But to see how pawnship works and how it consolidates local descent groups, we need to go right outside the area of intensive British colonization to the neighbouring Congo, where I had the good luck to be able to study a social system which had come under effective colonial administration only fifteen years before. Pawnship there was in process of liquidation, but although moribund, it was not dead and buried. When I reported on the Lele system of pawnship (1960), I thought it was something special in African ethnography. This was, I now realize, a blind spot involving a total disregard of the many clues as to its widespread existence of which I was aware. Father de Sousberghe's paper on Pende marriage, with its fuller description of pawn lineages, finally brought it home to me that from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean there is a zone of matrilineal peoples who have practised one form of pawnship or another in the recent past. Audrey Richards first sign-posted the unity of this area when she wrote her oft-quoted phrase about the matrilineal belt stretching from the Congo to Lake Nyasa and the Zambesi (1950).

One advantage of treating the whole region as a unit is that a fuller interpretation can be given of institutions which are only present in emasculated form in Rhodesia and Nyasaland by comparing them with their counterparts in areas which have

been less heavily colonized or raided by Arabs and Ngoni.

I begin by taking the Lele of the Kasai as the mid-point of this region, whose unity in the style of its matrilineal institutions I hope to demonstrate. From an historical point of view they have a special claim to attention. They seem to have been located too far to the east of the Atlantic coast at the time of the greatest Portuguese incursions, too far north to have come under Lunda rule in the seventeenth century, and just too far west of Lake Tanganyika to have been ravaged by the Arabs in the nineteenth century. They came under effective colonial rule only in the 1930's. Therefore their traditional institutions were relatively undistorted by invaders. The Lele had one central, dominant institution apart from which little that they did could be understood. That was the system of transferring rights over persons as compensation for offences and settlement of debts, which I call pawnship. I published a full account of this institution in the J.R.A.I. in 1960. Here I shall merely outline the working of Lele pawnship and its effect on their matrilineal organization. Then I shall indicate some of the evidence for the widespread distribution of similar pawnship systems in Central Africa. It is possible that a full survey of the literature would confirm that these pawnship systems used to stretch uninterruptedly from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean.

The Lele are organized in dispersed matrilineal clans, and they practise avunculocal residence. Strict genealogical links within the clans are not recognized. In each village the local sections of the component clans treat common clanship as a field of recruitment for all the sisters' sons and brothers who have grown up dispersed in their fathers' villages. At one level of organization a village is composed of small sections of matrilineal clans whose members strive to attract others to join them and so increase their personal following. There is no fixed property which might act as a magnet to attract dispersed clansmen, but the senior men of a clan section pool

their rights over the disposal of their marriageable women. These marriageable women are not members of the clan but are mainly pawns or descendants of pawns who have been acquired in settlement of one claim or another. Thus the local clan section can collectively offer wives to men who come to live with them. Rights as owners of pawns are transmitted matrilineally through the generations, so that an enduring heritable property is created by the system, which gives stability and strength to the owning clan section. The status of pawn is also transmitted matrilineally. The result is that the transfer of rights over a woman pawn detaches her matrilineal descendance from her own clan and gives it to the owner's clan. The normal rights of a mother's brother are largely abrogated, in the first generation and subsequently. A man who is born a pawn and remains one is a free man, but he never has the full rights of a brother over his sisters and their children, for the most important of these rights have been given by contract to his owner. When we add that these most important rights concern disposal in marriage, we can see that this system modifies the kinship institutions at the very centre. Pawnship is a way of cutting down the claims of matrilineal kinsmen. Pawns are full and free members of their own clans, but for this restricted autonomy in their own affairs. I should emphasize that a pawn is in no way a slave. His owner's control is exercised with great restraint and with respect for the pawn's clansmen's wishes. Such restraint is necessary, for there is in the Lele system no external coercive force to support his claims if they are not freely accepted by the pawn. In practice the male pawn does not find his condition irksome. His owner pays his marriage and cult dues and also settles any pawnship debts that he may incur. He is much more like a generous father than a slave-owner. Moreover, since everyone is liable to be pawned at any time, and since pawns can be owners of other pawns, it is not a humiliating condition.

From the point of view of a claimant who is demanding a pawn in compensation for an injury, a pawn represents a source of future influence and of followers. A pawn woman produces lineage segments of other clans who can be expected to reside in his village and remain under his control. He can offer her daughters to his young clansmen as wives and so build up his local clan section. Her sons, who will also be his pawns, he can persuade to live in his village. By offering them wives from his own clan he can counteract the tendency for men to join their mothers' brothers. Pawn owners also make elaborate alliances between their pawns of different clans, always with the same end in view—the build-up of their village. So pawnship offers a special kind of adaptation to the basic residential and authority problem posed by matriliny, outlined by Audrey Richards and so well described for the Yao by Mitchell and the Ndembu by Turner.

One important thing to notice is that such an institution sets up an autonomous field of force in any matrilineal kinship system. There is so much to be gained by working it well, by under-writing one another's claims to pawns, by milking one's owner, and by pleasing one's pawns, that everyone is involved in it up to the neck. It has something of the attraction of a game and hence one good reason for keeping to the terminology of pawn. When such a game is in play, no one can afford to be left out. Everyone must be quick to see insults and make claim for injuries. No death can be allowed to pass without pinning responsibility on someone who can pay a pawn. So there is always someone who has a vested interest in pressing for a definitive

verdict on a sorcery accusation. Poison ordeals give a definitive verdict on which pawnship claims can be based. Whatever other function poison ordeals may have in other social systems, where there is pawnship a lethal ordeal to attribute responsibility for death has obvious functions.

Because its influence on other fields of social behaviour such as sorcery and politics is so radical, I suggest that if we have evidence that it has once existed in a particular society this evidence cannot be relegated to a separate minor paragraph. The interpretation of post-colonial kinship behaviour should assume that the system freed of all servile institutions by colonial powers is radically changed. For example, since pawnship was evidently practised by the Ndembu, their kinship system functioning without pawnship should be taken frankly as a post-colonial adaptation in which some contradictions can only be understood in the light of how the indigenous system used to work. I shall give an example of this below.

Let me make it clear at this point that what I am interested in is not any transfer of persons in payment of debts, but a transfer which creates an enduring property by building up a pawn lineage belonging to an owning descent group. It is this enduring

transmissible property in pawns which modifies matrilineal kinship.

The Lele word for pawn is kolomo, but they also call a pawn nkana, which is the word for grandchild. In the different tribes in which I have found examples of pawnship institutions, different words are used for pawn, but the assimilation of pawn to grandchild is widely attested. Evidence for the widespread distribution of the Lele type of pawnship can be most briefly indicated if we take in turn each of the main linguistic groupings of the region. The early literature is of uneven quality and in most cases the writers, when they write of the transfer of pawns in compensation, call it crudely slavery although they often distinguish different types. They are usually describing an institution which has been repressed before their arrival. Therefore the variations in the accounts may represent merely different emphases made by informants and not necessarily differences in the way the institution worked. The groupings I shall use are as follows: the Teke, the Lunda, the Kongo, the Bemba, the Maravi, and finally the Yao. I do not pretend to have done exhaustive research, and criticism can certainly be levelled at these rough-and-ready groupings. But the object is only to show how very widespread was the distribution of pawnship combined with matriliny before servile institutions of all kinds were suppressed.

(a) Teke. The Lele themselves, though their origins are obscure and probably mixed, can be classed with the Teke, the large group of peoples starting from the Atlantic coast in the Congo (Brazzaville) Republic. In this group are the Yansi, Songo, Dzing, Sakata, Lesa, Ngori, and Mbunda. Father Mertens, who lived among the Dzing, insists on their close cultural ties with the Yansi, and reports what he calls debt-slavery. The debt can be redeemed and the servitude thus ended, but the writer insists that the debt slave cannot be said to have become a free man since he never ceased to be free (pp. 327-31). Father de Beaucorps has recorded similar customs among the Songo, close neighbours of the Dzing, who are also intermingled with others of the Teke group (1941). He mentions the advantages sought through intermarriage between the 'slave' and the owning clan, and says that the normal rule of clan exogamy is waived for the former (1941, pp. 76-77). His full description of debt-slavery (1941, pp. 79-86) shows that it is indeed an institution of pawnship of the Lele type.

The existence of a similar institution among the Dia, Sakata, and Lesa of Équateur Province on the right bank of the Kasai is indicated by the notes of Commissioner Focquet (1924). Finally, a class of debt-slaves is described for the Mbunda by Weekx (1937) and fuller details are given by Decker (1942), supplemented by a useful note in Flament (1940) to the effect that a Mbunda slave is none the less a full member of his clan.

(b) Lunda. The Lunda themselves, though matrilineal in their origins, are largely patrilineal or ambilateral in their system of descent (Biebuyck, Cunnison). Therefore, if something like pawnship were recorded for them, it would not have the same implications for kinship. We are more concerned in the Lundaized peoples who have remained matrilineal, for example, the Pende, who are immediate neighbours of the Lele. They are much intermingled with the southerly members of the Teke cluster of tribes and with easterly extensions of the Kongo cluster, as well as having been influenced by invading Lunda from the east. They present the best-described example of pawnship institutions since Father de Sousberghe followed up his first account of their preferred marriages (1955) with this new account in 1963.

In the first instance he reported as follows:

In each clan, whether chiefs or commoners, free men (*Pingwa*), that is clan members by birth, are distinguished from members by purchase to be called slaves. [I propose to translate by pawn]. The Pende call them *ahiga* (sold) if they have bought them in person, but the descendants of bought women from the first generation are called *ajikulu* (grandchildren): he who buys a member of another clan becomes in effect his father.

He goes on to contrast the rule of exogamy for free members of the chiefly clan with the permitted intermarriage between an owning clan and its own pawn descendants. Chiefs and rich men could acquire and add to their household pawn women whose progeny formed part of their lord's clan, even to the point of carrying its name. The pawns under the name of grandchildren form a distinct branch of the clan with which the free members of the clan are allowed to intermarry without breach of clan exogamy. In other words, although he says that they form part of the clan, it would seem that this is not completely so, since intermarriage is allowed.

For the Pende patrilineality [or, as we should say, father-right] is the synonym of purchase of the wife. . . . Patrilineality is the desire of all and a Pende never misses a chance of acquiring it. . . . The purchase of a woman, assimilated to the purchase of a slave, and the successive transfer from one clan to another, has disappeared along with slavery from Pende country. The chiefly clans keep all their ajikulu (grandchildren) who remained attached to them, and who offered them in one sense a possibility of father-right: in the sense that the line of descent belongs to the paternal clan, but in a distinct branch or line, this line being dependent on the line of the father it is he who will dispose of the children, the daughters especially. . . .

In his recent report he gives more welcome detail. One particular already noted for the Dzing is repeated here, that is that the rule of clan exogamy is over-ridden for pawns (pp. 26-37). The Pende man or woman born in pawnship has a restricted type of second-class kinship with his or her owner's clan. On acquiring a new pawn, the owner, who becomes father, designates one of his own brothers as mother's brother, and notwithstanding these relationships a female pawn is allowed to marry her

owner and her son can marry her owner's brother's daughter. A male pawn is freely given wives in his owner's clan, presumably because the mother's brothers of these girls have not to take into account the wishes of a first-class male affine in their future plans for their sister's daughter's offspring. A man may even marry one of his pawns and give her sister to his own sister's son, which would be forbidden for marriages of free women. This playing fast and loose with the rules of incest would be unheard of in the Lele system of pawnship. The Pende rules evidently present interesting variations of the basic institution. It also seems that the Pende have a much more developed system than the Lele for detaching branches of other clans from their maternal kinsmen and using them to build up local influence by intermarriage.

On the left bank of the Kwango the Mbangala represent the most westerly point of the Lunda migration. For them there is the clear evidence in Van Overbergh and de Jonghe (pp. 393-5) of a genial form of debt-slavery giving rise to hereditary rights.

There is a gap on the map between the peoples on the lower Congo and Kasai and those on the upper reaches of the Kasai. It is not necessarily a real gap in cultural continuity but rather a gap in my information. It may be partly bridged by the Cokwe concerning whom Baumann made references to domestic slaves, mentioning that disputes about them occupied much of the time in local litigation (McCulloch, pp. 45–49). Once across the border into Northern Rhodesia the information is better. The Ndembu, who live in the same latitude as the Cokwe and not very far to the east of them, provide a well-recorded instance of pawnship (Turner, pp. 189 seq.). Turner has also recorded the tendency for what he calls 'slave lineages' to grow while their masters decline, which recalls the Pende information.

(e) Kongo. Moving westwards we find further references to pawnship institutions in the Kongo group, particularly among the Kongo themselves. Balandier (1963) gives a summary of types of servitude among the different Kongo tribes (pp. 241-4) but only discusses slaves who lose all contact with their own kinsmen. If this type of slavery prevailed it would not be an instance of pawnship, but it would seem that the information has been selected from the primary sources in accordance with the author's bias. For among the north-eastern Kongo debt-slaves are distinguished from bought slaves and war captives and from descendants of the last two categories (Mertens, 1942, pp. 115-20). There are details from Laman (pp. 56-58) for the Sundi; Van Wing for Mapangu; and Soret for the Yombe (p. 82). Father de Sousberghe mentions that 'slave' (or I should say pawn) lineages comparable to those he describes for the Pende were known to proliferate among the Kongo (p. 29).

Among the Bakongo where similar swarms were the custom, as moreover amongst all the societies of the Kwilu and Kwango, the Rev. Fr. Boka tells us that they are favoured by the clans with the deliberate object of proliferating, and that they are encouraged for political reasons: a woman married in her own village is expected to have less children than a woman married in the distance. . . . These distant swarms are a guarantee against the extinction of the clan and an eventual reserve of talents for it. If it comes to need orators or men capable of being chiefs they go to search among these swarm-lineages which have remained far amongst their fathers, but which still belong to their original clan.

Thus far we have established that due west, south-west, and north-west of the Lele, pawnship institutions can be traced in the main language groups as far as the Atlantic

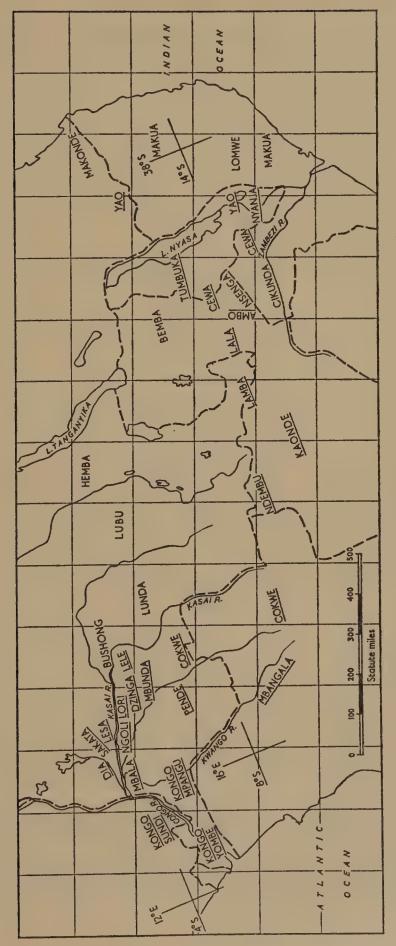


Fig. 1. Central African tribes for which pawnship institutions are recorded (underlined).

coast. Now, working in the easterly direction, we can carry the pattern across the continent towards the other coast.

- (d) Bemba. The first group is that of the Bemba and related tribes. I have not any clear record of this institution among the Bemba themselves. There are obscure references in Gouldsbury and Sheane to the transfer of persons for homicide, but no reason for supposing that the transfer ever sets up hereditary rights or hereditary pawn status. Audrey Richards tells me that the existence of pawn lineages or owner lineages would not have been compatible with Bemba village structure as she knew it. Now the Bemba are said to have shared a common origin with the Luba, especially the Luba Hemba of Waruwa district, near Lake Tanganyika in the Congo. These Luba have remained matrilineal. Although they used to have domestic slavery, Father Colle is quite unequivocal that this is nothing like pawnship. There are two negative criteria. For one, the slaves he is writing about (pp. 293-302) are kinless. As soon as they can discover who their kinsmen are, they can take steps to be enfranchised. Now it is the essence of pawnship that the kinsmen of a transferred person remain in contact with him or her and guard his or her interests. The second point is that among the Luba Hemba the children of a female slave are free. If there were no hereditary status of pawn the pawnship institution would lose its distinctive character. And so we can aver that the Bemba are not likely to have brought pawnship with them from the Congo, and this is consistent with its absence among the Bemba themselves. However, in Northern Rhodesia the Bemba overran earlier settled tribes related in various degrees to the Maravi peoples of Nyasaland. These peoples seem to have had pawnship institutions. For example, the Ambo had a system of pawnship (Stefaniszyn, 1964) and are reported to be very similar in social organization to the Lala and Nsenga. The Kaonde are only very confusedly reported by Melland, but he does mention compensation by transfer from one clan to another of free persons who then become 'slaves' on pp. 65, 73, and 75. Dr. I. M. Lewis, who has done fieldwork among the Kaonde, supplements this information by telling me that he frequently met Kaonde who had been 'given' in payment for offences to other clans. For the Lamba, neighbours of the Kaonde, Doke, writing in 1931, gives a clear account of the system of 'domestic slavery' practised by the Lamba in Northern Rhodesia (pp. 80-84) which is supplemented by Cuvelier's account for the Lamba of Sakania in the Congo. But Cuvelier suggests that the system was much harsher than it appeared to Doke, who insists on its mild character. Cuvelier also gives a note on a custom which is more rare in these various records, that is of a method of retaliation on a third party who is left to recoup his loss from the original debtor (pp. 17-18). This is also mentioned by Stefaniszyn (1964) for the Ambo and was a prominent feature in the Lele system. Dr. Apthorpe, in his introduction to Father Stefaniszyn's book, mentions that this institution appears in many early travellers' records in Northern Rhodesia, and I should be very interested to know how widely it accompanied the pawnship complex.
- (e) Maravi. The Maravi group, including Nyanja and Cewa, spreads across Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Here too the evidence is conclusive. Rowley in 1866 and Johnson in 1922 show that a system of transfer of rights over clansmen was used for making compensation for specific offences. In its outlines the system seems very similar to that of the Yao for whom fuller evidence is available. After the publication of the

volume of the Ethnographic Survey, Peoples of the Lake Nyasa Region (1950), I was able to correspond with Dr. Hastings Banda, Cewa by origin, who took then, as now, a lively interest in the ethnography of his people. In a letter of 3 January 1951 he confirmed a detail which was missing for the Cewa-Nyanja group by stating that a man who lost his free status as a result of his failure to pay compensation could no longer act as a marriage warden (nkhoswe) for his sisters. For the Tumbuka-Henga, related to the Nyanja, the evidence of transmissible pawnship status of this kind is clear (Young, Fraser).

(f) Yao. A Yao man would expect to be able to pay a debt by giving wives or members of his matrilineal kin to his creditors. This makes sense if the wives he could use for payment were his pawns. A Yao pawn-owner was essentially one who had women to dispose of and it also seems that a Yao man who had no other prospect of obtaining a wife might offer himself as a pawn to such an owner. A pawn-owner was able to control the residence of his pawns. There is no doubt that pawnship status among the Yao was transmitted matrilineally from one generation to the next, so much so that pawn or 'slave' lineages swelled the size of villages of important men (Mitchell, 1956). We are told that the Yao competition for prestige was geared to the acquisition of pawn dependants. Pawnship (or 'domestic slavery') is said to have been a dominant institution in Yao life before it was abolished by the British. The records of Yao organization (Stannus) concern the Yao in Nyasaland, but are generally regarded as applicable to the Yao in Tanganyika. Unfortunately we know less of their life in Portuguese East Africa and less still of the Makua, Lomwe, and Makonde peoples who are their eastern neighbours and are supposed to have closely related cultures.

If distinctive features of a Central African type of matriliny can indeed be established and recognized, several advantages will follow. A current argument concerning patrilateral alliance can be steered clear of this region. Robert Lane has recently reproached Rodney Needham for refusing to recognize that the Pende practise prescribed patrilateral marriage (1962). If he had known that the Pende belong to a cultural area where prescriptive ties are overridden by contractual ties of the pawnship variety, he could have saved himself unnecessary searching through Father de Sousberghe's monograph for circumstantial evidence of strict patrilateral pre-

scription. For pawnship and prescriptive alliance are incompatible.

There is scope here for a useful programme of research among the early records of Central African ethnography, and for a re-examination of modern field reports. The most interesting post-war field-work of this area is enriched with suggestions thrown up but inevitably left untested for lack of the comparative and historical framework in which the modern analyses should be set. For example, much attention has been paid in this region to the rate of fission of lineages and villages. In discussing village fission among the Ndembu, Turner draws a picture (pp. 119–203) of disharmony between personality and institutions, or rather between ideals operating at different levels of the culture. On the one hand there is the ideal of the fierce, virile hunter, and on the other the ideal of the amiable, respectful village headman. Village fission is explicitly related to this discrepancy:

It is clear that such a personality type is diametrically opposed to that thought proper for a headman. . . .

Because few men possess or develop the personality ideally required for headmen, new settlements often fail to become established.

An interesting idea, well worth putting out, but was the four-generation matrilineal village always so difficult to achieve? Would it not have been relevant to know that an original factor of lineage stability has now disappeared and that sixty years ago the headman's personal inadequacies would have been supplemented by a more adequate institutional matrix? Village pawnship would have afforded precisely such an instrument for achieving his ambitions. For pawns are an enduring heritable property vested in unilineal descent groups. Where there are pawns to transmit in inheritance there is scope for authority and for flourishing corporate lineages or corporate clan sections. Though at first glance the transferability of pawns would seem to work against the matrilineal principle, in practice it works in favour of it. For pawnship status is reckoned genealogically and the rights of owners are transmitted unilineally.

To return to my opening gambit, Professor Gluckman, in his introduction to The Lamba Village (1950), raised the question whether there is not a Central African type of kinship system. The full answer, of course, must be that there are several types, including pre- and post-colonial types. I suggest that one of the pre-colonial types was characterized by corporate descent groups, not necessarily lineages, whose corporateness depended on joint property in pawns themselves forming associated descent groups. He also raised a different point (p. 12) in implying that the difference between the Bemba and the Yao might be a matter of difference in the perspective of their respective ethnographers. If Mitchell, he says, had worked with his particular point of view among the Bemba he would probably have reported Yao-type lineages there too. No one has so far settled this very important question. But as a contribution I suggest that the main difference between the Yao and the Bemba is not a matter of the ethnographer's focus, but an objective matter of presence or absence of pawnship as well as of centralized political institutions.

To return to the Yao, it may be suggested that the high degree of uxorilocality in their pattern of residence may not have obtained in the days when Yao culture was heavily dominated by pawnship institutions. For we have seen on the one hand that pawnship rights are frequently used by an owner to restrict the changes of residence of his pawns, and on the other hand we can see that a pawnship heritage gives men an interest in their own corporate descent group which is likely to have drawn them to emphasize avunculocal residence.

Another likely by-product of the extinction of pawnship is that marriageable girls have become less scarce than formerly. Polygyny and pawnship, in creating pressures on the supply of marriageable girls, produce various side-effects on corporate group organization. Among the Lele for a man to own pawns was an advantage both in acquiring a wife for himself and in acquiring followers to whom he could offer female pawns. There is evidence in the literature surveyed that this was once the case in many of the tribes, particularly the Yao. A relative shortage of wives, taken with the need to assert rights in one's corporate descent group, would, in the old days, almost certainly have produced a system of closer control of junior matrilineal kinsmen than in post-colonial times.

From this point we can look again at the modern analyses of the social functions of sorcery and witchcraft beliefs, and try to estimate how great a change the modern picture represents. Both Mitchell and Marwick (1952) have shown that in present

conditions witchcraft accusations may provide the idiom for dissolving unwanted social ties. An incumbent of the office of village headman who is blocking village fission can be circumvented by an accusation of witchcraft which allows his junior rival to move away with a section of his matrilineal following. But there is evidence both in Marwick's statements about the local theory of witchcraft and in the case histories with which he supports it that, at least in Cewa culture, witchcraft accusations used to be made by the man in office against his junior contenders. In that case they were instruments not of revolt by the young but of control by those in office. This is another sign that in the pre-colonial era corporate descent groups may have been more authoritatively organized than in modern times. I have already discussed this aspect of the Cewa material (Middleton and Winter, 1963). I suggest that Marwick's interpretation, which accords well with Mitchell's observation of what was happening in post-colonial Yao society, was partly the result of the ambiguity created by the abolition of the poison ordeal. The abolition of such a central institution must have left an enormous gap in the indigenous social system. The two institutions complement one another. Pawnship creates a special pressure for a definitive charge of homicide for every death; the poison ordeal gives a final verdict. In point of fact the poison ordeal extends over the area in which pawnship institutions have been surveyed in this summary. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that cosmological ideas are less dominated by witchcraft or sorcery beliefs in the areas of Northern Rhodesia where the pawnship complex does not prevail, for example, the Bemba and the Ila-Tonga.

In conclusion, the outlines of a type of social system can be sketched in as the probable basis from which modern Rhodesian or Nyasaland peoples have evolved their present-day societies. The system would have been based on matrilineal corporate descent groups, owning and transmitting rights in pawns. Deaths would have been followed by accusations of homicide through witchcraft or adultery, with claims for transfers in women as pawns in settlement. Witchcraft accusations would have been vigorously rebutted by all who would have had to relinquish pawnship rights if the accusations could be made to stick. The poison ordeal would have been final arbiter in these disputes about responsibility for death. A greater competition for marriageable women, a later age of marriage for men, and an earlier age for girls, greater control by lineage or clan section elders, and greater lineage and village stability are likely to have been part of the earlier scene.

It is tempting to consider how pawnship has interacted with other institutions in this central African region. On the common basis of sparse populations of matrilineal cultivators there seem to have been three kinds of development taking place within a complicated historical framework.

First, there has been in some parts a tendency to tighten up the matrilineal principles of organization. Short, but well-articulated, matrilineal lineages have emerged in the west. Daniel Biebuyck tells me the tendency is clear among the Mayombe near Brazzaville. It also seems to have happened among the Yao in the fertile areas near Lake Shirwa. But in neither case is it clear that rights in land have been solely responsible for the emergence of corporate descent groups. In both instances a durable property in pawns and slaves has probably had its effect.

Second, there has been in some parts a development of centralized political

organization. In general this has worked against pawnship and against lineages. I know of no indication that pawnship existed among the Bushong, the Yaka, or the Bemba, three matrilineal kingdoms. The Kongo are an exception. Pawnship accords best with a type of lex talionis which works in conditions of small village autonomy. One would expect the development of strong judicial and police functions to supersede it.

Third, there has been, from the north-east of this region, a strong pressure towards patrilineal descent. The Kasai Luba, who share their traditions of origin with the Luba Hemba and the Bemba, succumbed. So did the Lunda, in part (Biebuyck). As the Lunda moved westwards in the seventeenth century, they invaded peoples who were solidly given to pawnship and matriliny. In these westward migrations they restored their matrilineal tendency. But as they moved eastward, as far as the Luapula Valley, they invaded peoples who were matrilineal, without pawnship. In this area matriliny diminished in favour of bilateral or patrilineal descent (Cunnison).

In the nineteenth century the Ngoni thrust north into Nyasaland, settling near Fort Jameson among matrilineal Cewa and Nsenga peoples practising pawnship. Here it was the patrilineal invaders whose system of kinship was modified to a bilateral reckoning, and not the invaded who gave up their matriliny. It would seem that pawnship has had a part to play in determining whether matrilineal systems of descent should remain matrilineal or change.

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#### Résumé

### DESCENDANCE MATRILINÉAIRE ET STATUT DE GAGE EN AFRIQUE CENTRALE

DIFFÉRENTES formes d'éesclavage domestique', qui ont largement disparu devant l'influence coloniale, ont été signalées dans toute l'Afrique. En Afrique Centrale, partout où l'esclavage domestique s'est combiné à une descendance matrilinéaire, il a modifié de façon importante le système de parenté. La variante d'Afrique Centrale, ou le statut de gage (pawnship), possède deux caractéristiques distinctes. Premièrement, ce statut est héréditaire par la ligne maternelle. Ceci signifie que la possession permanente de gages est établie pour le possesseur et ses héritiers, les gages et ceux qui les possèdent ayant des droits et obligations établies généalogiquement. Deuxièmement, l'engagement n'est pas un statut d'esclave. Le gage est soit un homme soit une femme libres dont la liberté d'action est limitée par des règles déterminées. Ces restrictions, en faveur de leur propriétaire, concernent le lieu de résidence et la cession des filles en mariage. Un propriétaire de gages est un homme possédant une descendance mâle et des filles à marier qu'il peut allouer à ses partisans.

La plus grande partie de l'Afrique Centrale est caractérisée par un sol pauvre et une population clairsemée. L'économie présente peu d'avantages fixes qui puissent grouper les habitants et encourager des groupements corporatifs à se former. L'engagement, à défaut d'autres formes de propriété de valeur, permet aux possesseurs de gages d'affermir leur parti en arrangeant le mariage de leurs gages et de stabiliser le lieu de résidence de leurs charges de famille.

Partout où cette institution existe, elle affecte profondément la parenté, les groupements locaux et l'organisation politique. Elle a favorisé, dans certaines conditions, le développement d'une descendance matrilinéaire. Dans d'autres conditions, elle semble avoir renforcé la descendance matrilinéaire contre une influence patrilinéaire étrangère. Elle semble n'être pas compatible avec les états à politique centralisée. Cet article nous montre l'effet produit par ces institutions sur les formes de descendance matrilinéaire d'Afrique Centrale et essaie de nous indiquer leur répartition. Des documents laissent penser que ces institutions ont existé dans les systèmes sociaux des groupes matrilinéaires principaux de la Côte Atlantique à l'Océan Indien.

## WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY: TAXONOMY VERSUS DYNAMICS

#### VICTOR W. TURNER

It is greatly to the credit of the editors of Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa<sup>1</sup> that they have made generally available ten systematic accounts of witch beliefs in East and Central African societies. All teachers of anthropology must surely be grateful to them on this account alone. Moreover the book is spiced with many insights into sociocultural problems connected with the main theme. A permissive editorial policy has stimulated a rich diversity of viewpoints and presentations. But one is left with the feeling that Monica Wilson's plea for the comparative analysis of these 'standardized nightmares'—a plea which forms the book's motto—as one of the 'keys to the understanding of society' has not met here with a wholly satisfactory response.

The fault-if fault it is-does not lie with the highly competent contributors but with the declining adequacy of the theoretical frames employed. These are the structural frame of reference and 'cultural analysis' with which the editors (p. 9) hope to 'develop explanatory formulations which can subsume the facts from more than one society'. But 'the facts' have changed within the last decade and theory must change with them. Anthropologists are still vitally concerned to exhibit 'structures' of social relations, ideas, and values, but now tend to see these in relation to processes of which they are both the products and regulators. Process-theory involves a 'becoming' as well as a 'being' vocabulary, admits of plurality, disparity, conflicts of groups, roles, ideals, and ideas, and, since it is concerned with human beings, considers such variables as 'goal', 'motivation', 'intention', 'rationality', and 'meaning'. Furthermore, it lays stress on human biology, on the individual life-cycle, and on public health and pathology. It takes into theoretic account ecological and economic processes both repetitive and changing. It has to estimate the effects on local sub-systems of large-scale political processes in wider systems. These developments have taken place as a result of the increased use of the extended case method which studies the vicissitudes of given social systems over time in a series of case studies, each of which deals with a major crisis in the selected system or in its parts. Data provided by this method enable us to apprehend not only the structural principles of that system but also processes of various kinds, including those of structural change. Such case material must, of course, be analysed in constant and close association with social 'structure', both in its institutionalized and statistically normative senses. The new 'facts' do not oust but complete the old.

In African social systems witch beliefs and witchcraft accusations are classes of data which demand a dynamic theoretical treatment. The editors of Witchcraft and

Gray), Nandi (Dr. G. W. B. Huntingford), Gisu (Dr. Jean La Fontaine), Gusii (Professor Robert A. LeVine), Lugbara (Professor John Middleton), Amba (Professor E. H. Winter).

Edited by John Middleton and E. H. Winter. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963, 35s. net. Chapters on Nyoro (Dr. John Beattie), Kaguru (Dr. T. O. Beidelman), Mandari (Dr. Jean Buxton), Lele Dr. Mary Douglas), Mbugwe (Professor Robert F.

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Sorcery in East Africa have pointed out (p. 18) that 'in the cycle of development of a lineage or of a family, accusations of wizardry may be made between different categories of persons at different stages of the cycle, and these accusations point to the areas of sharpest tension'. Yet no essay in the book explores the possibilities of this approach which demands the extended case method for its full exploitation. This is all the more surprising since one of the editors, Professor Middleton, made exemplary use of this method in his recent book.

On the other hand, preoccupation with a group's developmental cycle—which is a process of internal structural adjustment—sometimes tends to deflect attention from other types of process. Among these may be listed processes of adaptation to the social environment and to the natural environment. It is not sufficiently recognized how closely witch beliefs are associated with the high rates of morbidity and mortality which afflict most tribal societies. And morbidity, like rainfall, often has a strongly localized distribution. Analyses of witchcraft ought in future to include local statistics of disease and death. For surely it is the sudden and unpredictable onset of severe illness that partly accounts for the random and motivelessly malignant character ascribed to many aspects and types of witchcraft? I mention this seemingly obvious matter as a corrective to the optimism of what Dr. Douglas in a perceptive essay in Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa has called the 'obstetric view'. This view, based too narrowly on a study of Central African cycles of village development, has been expounded most persuasively by Professor Max Marwick (1952, p. 232) who writes that when Cewa social relations become intolerably strained witch beliefs help to 'dissolve relations that have become redundant'; they 'blast down the dilapidated parts of the social structure, and clear the rubble in preparation for new ones '2 (what kind of structure, one is prompted to ask, is this, forced abstract or reinforced concrete?). Dr. Douglas, from whose essay the quotation from Marwick is taken, for good measure throws in his comment that witchcraft accusations 'maintain the virility of the indigenous social structure 'by allowing 'periodic redistributions of structural forces '.3

Against this 'obstetric' view she asserts that for the Lele of Kasai witchcraft is 'an aggravator of all hostilities and fears, an obstacle to peaceful co-operation'. This statement holds good for all disease-logged societies where most deaths are attributed to witchcraft. For illness strikes indiscriminately at groups in every stage of their developmental cycle, at villages full of tension and at harmoniously integrated communities. Indeed, a few sudden deaths in a happy village may provoke severer anger and sharper witchcraft accusations among its members than death in an already quarrelsome group where, so to speak, mystically harmful action is anticipated. A major feature of witch beliefs, as Evans-Pritchard has so memorably demonstrated,4 is that they are attempts to explain the inexplicable and control the uncontrollable by societies with only limited technological capacity to cope with a hostile environment. If witch beliefs were solely the products of social tensions and conflicts they would betray their origins by possessing a more markedly rational form and content.

Lugbara Religion, London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1960.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'The Social Context of Cewa Witch Beliefs', Africa, xxii. 2 and 3, 1952, pp. 120-35, 215-33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 233.

<sup>4</sup> Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande, London: Oxford University Press, 1937.

Constant exposure to ugly illness and sudden death, and the need to adapt to them swiftly, have surely contributed to the formation of these ugly and irrational beliefs. And once formed the beliefs feed back into the social process, generating tensions as often as 'reflecting' them.

Nevertheless, it is perfectly legitimate to connect with the later and more tension-ridden stages of a group's growth cycle those rumours and accusations of witchcraft which arise with reference to relatively minor occasions of illness yet are pressed home with venom and assiduity. Here one will often find a group on the point of fission, radically cloven into competing factions. In such cases internal adjustment rather than adaptation to biotic or social environments would appear to be the

dominant process.

In brief, each instance or set of accusations has to be examined within a total context of social action which includes the operation of biotic, ecological, and intergroup processes, as well as intra-group developments. A considerable time-depth is necessary to make adequately comprehensible the patterning and motivation of accusations in a given area of social life. These specifications can be met only by the extended case study. In Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa several authors (notably Drs. Beattie, Beidelman, and La Fontaine) have documented their essays with case material. But of the 299 pages of the book only 49 are taken up by cases and their analysis. Most cases are appended without comment as illustrations of some 'structural' feature or other. Quite commonly attention is concentrated on distinguishing the categories of kin, affines, neighbours, &c. between whom accusations are 'most frequent'. Marwick, who has used this approach, has at least documented it with meticulously collected and presented numerical data. Figures are few and hard to find in this symposium. But to my mind the approach itself is a misleading one. The significant point about a given instance of accusation is not that it is made by someone against a specific type of relative, but that it is made in a given field-situation. This situation would include not only the structure of the group and sub-groups to which the accuser and accused belong, but also their extant division into transient alliances and factions on the basis of immediate interests, ambitions, moral aspirations, &c. It would also include as much of the history of these groups, sub-groups, alliances, and factions as would be considered relevant to the understanding of the accusation by leading actors in the field-situation. It would further include, wherever possible, demographic data about sub-group and factional fluctuations over the relevant time-period, together with information about the biological and sociological factors bearing on these, e.g. epidemics, rise and fall in the death and birth rates, labour migration, wars and feuds. The fact that A accused B would finally appear not as an instance of the 'tension that exists between agnates of the same generation' or between 'male uterine kin of adjacent generations' but as the product of a complex interplay of processes and forces, among which the norms governing behaviour between members of a single kinship category constitute only a single (and possibly minor) class. Kinship status may only be 'phenotypical' here: 'genotypical' may be membership in opposed factions in the local community in struggles for land, authority, prestige, or movable wealth, membership in opposed religious cultgroups, the likes and dislikes of leading actors, or combinations of all or any of these, or a variety of other, locally significant factors. What the significant variables are in particular situations and how they are combined, will yield to the probing of the extended case method coupled with the collection of numerical data on the basis of the clues it provides. In situations of radical change, where 'structure' is breaking down, traditional kinship norms can give little guidance. And even in repetitive, 'cyclical' systems it is only after we characterize the total action-field context that we shall be able to say with some assurance why A accused one 'mother's brother' B and yet found among his staunchest supporters' mother's brothers' C, D, and E.

In their essays on the Kaguru and Mandari Dr. Beidelman and Dr. Buxton have indeed presented the kind of detailed case material that would make this method of analysis possible. But since many variables have to be isolated and then considered in their independence and interdependence each extended case study ought to be preceded by the setting up of a construct of its action-field. Such a construct must admittedly display the inadequacies of all models. As Max Black has pointed out,1 citing Duhem and Braithwaite, the employment of models has been regarded by some philosophers as no more than 'a prop for feeble minds' or a convenient short cut to the consideration of deductive systems. But there may be some practical utility in using the 'field' (of social action) as an analogue-model, a species which, according to Black, who does not deny it all theoretical value, 'shares with its original not a set of features or an identical proportionality of magnitudes but, more abstractly, the same structure or pattern of relationships'. Since structural analogy is compatible with a wide variety of content there are indeed the attendant risks, which Black notes, of 'fallacious inference from inevitable irrelevancies and distortions in the model? Analogue models furnish 'plausible hypotheses, not proofs'. But our action-field construct is not, strictly speaking, a theoretical model, only an attempt to reproduce as carefully as possible the structure or 'web of relations' in the observable data. For this a certain amount of recourse to 'visual aids' is a prerequisite. Thus in Beidelman's excellently detailed case of Kaguru sub-chief Isaak (p. 81), our understanding of the events would have been further enhanced by a diagram bringing out the main structural properties of the sub-chiefdom he rules. In the narrative of the case, for example, we learn that in sub-chiefdoms there are 'dominant clans', and that Isaak 'owes his political power to his father's clan' (and this fact alone raises interesting problems in a matrilineal society). Such a diagram might therefore have included the distribution of the members of the dominant clan throughout the villages of Isaak's sub-chiefdom and in neighbouring sub-chiefdoms. For another important 'property' of the action-field in question is that 'a Kaguru feels that he can rely upon his own [matri-]clan above all kinsmen'. Next we require a village genealogy presented so as to bring out the relationships between the main actors in the case. We learn that Isaak is a village headman as well as a sub-chief, and therefore occupies leading positions in two sets of structural relations. The major intersections of these sets or 'sub-systems' might have been shown schematically. In Isaak's village there are two factions, one headed by Isaak and the other by an unmarried elderly woman. Both heads, and many of their followers, are 'members of the same [matri-]clan'. No genealogy is given to make completely clear to us in visual terms precisely how the faction heads are related to one another and to their followers. Isaak's matrikin seek favours from him in his capacities both as sub-chief and as headman. Some of

<sup>1 &#</sup>x27;Models and Archetypes', in Models and Metaphors, Cornell University Press, 1962, p. 223.

them practise illegal activities which embarrass Isaak. Mention of a division of the village into 'hamlets' underlines the need for a hut plan bringing out the spatial distribution of the main actors. Finally a diagram might have been devised to bring out the overlapping and interpenetrating of political and kinship networks of alliance and factional cleavage in the socio-spatial field constituted by sub-chiefdom, village, and hamlet.

Beidelman's case demonstrates that the 'kinship category' approach to witch-craft accusations is unsatisfactory. For he shows that Kaguru believed that children in the village became ill and died 'from exposure to the cross-fire of witchcraft' from Isaak and two female heads of the rival faction. Accusers, accused, and victims in the instances he cites are all kin or affines of one another of much the same categories. The question 'who accuses whom?' is partially answered by the roles they

play in the factional struggle.

Although he goes further than most writers on witchcraft in placing accusations in a case-method setting, Dr. Beidelman does not, in my view, go quite far enough. The extended case method, which his rich data would probably have allowed him to use, would have placed his 'Isaak' case in a longer time-series and perhaps in a wider and more complex field setting. We would have been able by it perhaps to account for the genesis of the factional struggle in Isaak's village, and in studying rumours and accusations of witchcraft over protracted periods of time would have gained an extensive knowledge of the phenomenon in its Kaguru variety. For the method I am advocating does not exclude cultural facts, such as beliefs, symbols, values, moral rules, and legal concepts, from its theoretical purview, in so far as these constitute determinable influences inclining persons and groups to action in the field context.

This brings me to the crux of this critique. For it may well be asked, What bearing has a method of sociological analysis on the study of witch beliefs? The reply would be firstly that the editors have themselves found sociological significance in the cultural distinction between 'witchcraft' and 'sorcery', and secondly that by its very nature the extended case method uses a finer mesh to catch nuances of belief (as these are invoked by the actors in social crises) than does the questioning of even the most gifted of informants away from the field of social action. For cases that involve witchcraft beliefs are dramas that include in their phases of development recourse to diviners to determine guilt and establish innocence. The observation of diviners at work and the study of their apparatus reveal that in African societies beliefs may include a multiplicity of types of mystical evildoers, who practise a wide variety of ways of causing mystical harm. This variety in beliefs is generated in some measure by the variety of concrete circumstances where misfortune is mystically 'explained'. The tendency to multiply beliefs is, of course, accelerated under present conditions of social change when members of many hitherto isolated tribes are meeting and mingling. Wider fields of social action are in process of formation which tend to contain beliefs drawn from many quarters, and, in addition, syncretisms and totally new formulations. Witch beliefs can no longer-if they ever could-be usefully grouped into two contrasting categories, witchcraft (in its narrow sense) and sorcery.

When Evans-Pritchard first made this distinction he clearly intended to confine it

to Zande culture: 'Azande believe that some people are witches and can injure them in virtue of an inherent quality. A witch performs no rite, utters no spell and possesses no medicines. An act of witchcraft is a psychic act. They believe also that sorcerers may do them ill by performing magic rites with bad medicines.' He further stated that the Zande witch has an inherent power to work evil, perhaps unknown even to himself. This power derives from the presence in a witch's body of an inherited organ or substance called mangu, the presence or absence of which can be determined by autopsy. Witchcraft, in short, may be unconscious and involuntary, though it is often intentional, inherited, and inherent. Sorcery is always conscious and voluntary, and is taught and often bought. Witchcraft operates directly and sorcery indirectly through spells, rites, and medicines. This dichotomy, verbalized and explicit among the Azande, is not made in many societies. Rather, these possess a wide range of beliefs about types of persons who seek to harm their fellows by non-empirical means. A brief survey of some of the recent literature dealing with such beliefs will make this clear.

In a well-documented study of a recent spate of 'witchcraft cases' brought before the courts in Barotseland, Northern Rhodesia, Barrie Reynolds, Keeper of Ethnography of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, has made a thorough survey of evidence cited in the courts and of the available ethnographic literature bearing on witchcraft in Central Africa. He found that in Barotseland the single term muloi was used for all evil practitioners whatever the means of doing harm they were believed to employ. Some were thought to kill by means of 'familiars' in human shape ('zombies' or figurines), by animal and non-human familiars (in the shape of monstrous crabs, snakes, or by magically created elephants, hippopotami, &c.), by siposo, the projection of magic in the form of an invisible missile, by 'the introduction or attempted introduction of any poisonous or supposedly poisonous powder or similar substance into the stomach, lungs, or flesh of the victim with the object of causing his death or illness', by burying charms in a path frequented by the intended victim or under his threshold, by sucking the victim's 'breath or spirit' from his body through a hollow reed, and by many other devices. Since these are real or imaginary techniques, which the people say can be taught or sold, they might all be classified as 'sorcery', in terms of the Zande prototype. However, the question of inheritance arises over certain familiars, known as tuyebela or vandumba among the Luvale, Luchazi, and Lunda peoples in the Protectorate. These are supposed to resemble miniature men, and to be inherited matrilineally by women. But this raises the issue of what is meant by 'inheritance'. Certainly, among the Mwinilunga Lunda I found that when a muloji (cognate with muloi) dies her familiars are said to seek out a close matrilineal kinswoman, who happens at the time to be residing near by, and attach themselves to her, forcing her in the end to let them kill one of her junior matrikin. Lunda say that when a woman reputed to be a muloji dies, her female matrikin flee her neighbourhood in case they are adopted by her tuyebela. Now this is 'inheritance' in a different sense from the inheritance of witchcraft substance among the Azande. The Lunda or Luvale witch

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Magic, Divination and Witchcraft among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia, London: Chatto & Windus, 1963, pp. 14-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Defined by Reynolds as 'agents or animated weapons capable of seeking out the victim and of carrying out the task assigned by the master'.

is not born a witch but has witchcraft 'thrust upon her', usually late in life. In tribal belief, too, she is thought to be quite aware of what has happened but for fear of her own life cannot resist the lethal demands of her familiars against her kin. The Zande witch on the other hand may be quite unaware of his mystical power until another person's divination discloses that he possesses it. After that he may be tempted, so Azande think, to use it. Yet among the Lunda and related West Central Bantu tribes it would be improper to distinguish women with tuyebela familiars as 'witches' from other evil-doers who are believed either to 'grow' familiars from 'medicines' or to carve and animate hominoid figurines. For these deliberately produced or acquired familiars also make irresistible demands on their owners and force them to kill their close kin. Thus intention, awareness, familiars are shared by male and female baloi in this area. To call the former 'sorcerers' and the latter 'witches' would be to miss the point of Evans-Pritchard's distinction. What is crucial is not whether witchcraft is 'inherent' or 'inherited' (two different attributes, by the way, since a person may be innately malicious or musical or friendly without having inherited these capacities from either parent) but that witchcraft acts directly by non-empirical means whereas sorcery operates mediately through spells, rites, and noxious substances. But even this qualification would not meet the Barotseland case. For while it is believed that male baloi create their familiars by medicine, once created such familiars as ilomba, the invisible snake, and nkala, the crab-monster, have an independent existence (they are thought of, too, as containers of their owners' life-principle, so that if the familiar is injured or slain, its owner also sickens or dies). They kill for their owners in ways that can only be described as 'non-empirical' or 'mystical', i.e. without the intervention of medicines.

Let us now examine how the contributors to Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa employ the terms embodied in the book's title and how the editors have used the distinction in comparative sociological analysis. Dr. Beattie, in proposing to translate the Nyoro word burogo as 'sorcery', adds the cautionary comment that 'here . . . translation involves some degree of misrepresentation' (p. 29). 'Burogo . . . is a technique; people do it because they so choose and it is learnt, not inborn' (p. 29). Nyoro also mention 'people called basezi, who disinter and eat corpses, dance naked in the fields at night, and cause death to those who see them . . . some Nyoro say . . . they are born that way; others say that like burogo, busezi can be learnt' (p. 30). But Nyoro have little practical concern with basezi, since diviners never attribute illness or misfortune to them. Nyoro have, therefore, no unconscious, involuntary witches who injure people 'in virtue of an inherent quality'. Their practitioners of evil magic learn how to use it, 'know what they are doing and . . . do it on purpose' (p. 30). Dr. Beattie calls them 'sorcerers'. To illustrate the current inconclusiveness about terminology Dr. Beidelman uses the term 'witches' for persons who are 'fully aware of their own witchcraft acts' (p. 64), who kill by intention 'out of revenge, ill will, jealousy, or desire for power'. These wahai 'have various plant and animal substances which are said to produce witchcraft '(p. 65). 'The simplest way to become a witch is to purchase uhai from a reputed witch' (p. 67). Such 'witchcraft' is not then inherited. Nor is it innate, since to make it really active its owner must 'commit incest and/or murder and devour a human, sometimes even a kinsman' (p. 67). As among the Nyoro, the Kaguru recognize exceptionally terrible

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witches (wakindi), who, like their Interlacustrine counterparts, are believed 'to dance naked in the clearing before a victim's house and are necrophagous'. These 'work their powers merely by exerting their ill-wills', but acquire and do not inherit them. Like the Nyoro basezi these 'night-dancing witches' differ from others only in degree and not in kind.

It might seem at first glance that Mandari 'witches', described by Dr. Buxton, do correspond to the Zande paradigm. They work 'with a hereditary power' (p. 101), and those who harm through the Evil Eye act directly on their victims. But it is clear from Dr. Buxton's texts (pp. 100 and 106) that witches are believed by Mandari both to will and to know what they are doing. Moreover we learn (p. 102) that 'sorcery can be used by witches' in the form of imprecations and materia medica. Witches are said to train their children in night-dancing (p. 100).

Dr. Douglas, both in her recent book and in her article, employs the term 'sorcerers' throughout for persons alleged to strike their fellows with illness and misfortune. 'Sorcery required materials, actions and a formula of words . . . had to be bought, and used with the consent of the vendor' (The Lele, p. 220). It is thus consciously and voluntarily acquired and used. Like the baloi of Barotseland, Lele sorcerers are thought to use many means of harming victims, including the use of familiars, various medicines, the calling up of lightning and sandstorms. Like Kaguru and Mandari 'witches' Lele 'sorcerers' are necrophagous.

Professor Gray writes that among the Mbugwe of Tanganyika 'witches are believed to be constitutionally different from other people, but the difference is an acquired rather than a genetic trait. The art is normally transmitted in a secret initiation rite from parents who are themselves witches to their children. . . . In theory, a person accepts initiation into witchcraft voluntarily. . . . Mbugwe witches are supposed to be fully conscious in carrying out their malicious acts, and are therefore held responsible for any . . . injury they may cause' (Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa, p. 161; my italics). In terms of Evans-Pritchard's definition, Mbugwe 'witches' are clearly 'sorcerers'. Nevertheless, as regards certain modes of operation employed by them, such as harming through the Evil Eye, Mbugwe 'witches' fall within the Azande definition.

But as we proceed from author to author the difficulties attendant on keeping the Zande witch-sorcerer model 'pure' increase. For we have just seen how among the Mbugwe 'witch'-like means of doing harm are *socially* not biologically inherited. Parents are thought to *teach* their children how to be witches. It seems that what would be sorcery—in terms of the Zande distinction—as well as witchcraft can be 'inherited' in kinship groups.

In his article on Nandi witchcraft Dr. Huntingford is forthright in his condemnation of 'an artificial distinction of terms, like "witch" or "sorcerer" (p. 175). Nandi use only the one name for those who have the power to kill or injure people by means of spells. This term *ponik*, which he translates as 'witches', is derived from *pan*, a verb meaning 'to cast a spell'. 'Witchcraft' is 'worked either through direct speech, or through indirect speech accompanied by the use of material objects. However, it shortly becomes apparent that Nandi also recognize, in the possession of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Lele of the Kasai, London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1963, pp. 220-58.

Evil Eye, something which is very like Zande 'witchcraft', since it has 'an innate quality which causes its possessor to harm others merely by looking at them, even though they may have no wish or intent to hurt' (p. 175). Since what Dr. Huntingford has called 'witchcraft' is similar to Zande 'sorcery', it seems that we are by no means out of the terminological wood (or jungle) yet.

Dr. La Fontaine, in her essay on the Gisu of Mount Elgon in Uganda, very sensibly decides to refer to 'all supernatural attacks as witchcraft', confining 'sorcery' to 'the powerful spells in the possession of the specialists in magic' (p. 192). Indeed, there is no warrant in the European tradition for restricting witchcraft to innate and inherited mystical power to work harm. Witches were generally thought to become such by entering into a compact with the Devil and to perform rites and utter spells to 'conjure' others. Their association with toads and black cats, which were supposed to embody their 'familiar' demons, derived from the compact into which they entered voluntarily and were not inherited from kin.

The Gusii of south-western Kenya, according to Professor LeVine, distinguish between the 'witch (omorogi)' and the 'sorcerer (omonyamosira)' as follows. The witch is 'a person with an incorrigible, conscious tendency to kill or disable others by magical means '(p. 225). It is 'an acquired art, and though it is handed down from parent to child, others can learn it as well' (p. 228). Witches operate by means of 'the magical use of poisons, parts of corpses taken from graves, and the exuviae of the victims' (pp. 226-7). The witch practises in secret but the sorcerer is invariably a known practitioner whose tasks are 'to kill magically the particular witch who is harming his client and to protect the client and his family from further witchcraft' (p. 234). Whereas witches tend to be women, sorcerers are invariably men. But there is 'a dangerously thin line' between professional sorcery and witchcraft (p. 236). It is not only witches that sorcerers are believed to kill but also innocent persons who have incurred their wrath or jealousy. Professor LeVine's use of the terms 'witch' and 'sorcerer' resembles Dr. La Fontaine's and has much to recommend it. Witches are all who are believed to harm others by mystical means, directly or indirectly, through magical techniques or innate power, with or without the aid of familiars. Sorcerers are professional witch-fighters. Since they are believed to kill other persons it is largely a matter of structural perspective whether they are also regarded as 'witches' or not-the victims' close kin would so dub them at any rate. Sorcerers are not 'witch-doctors', since they do not perform public rites or conduct witch-finding seances, nor do they wear regalia. They act in private at the behest of particular clients.

It would seem, therefore, from the various usages I have discussed<sup>1</sup> that there is little general agreement on the criteria which distinguish sorcery from witchcraft. In his essay in Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa, Professor Middleton finds among the Lugbara of Uganda something approaching the Zande model. 'Witches have an inherent power which can harm others, whereas sorcerers use medicines which they acquire from other people.' But we learn from Lugbara Religion that 'the ability, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> And others in the literature since the publication of Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande; e.g. Dr. Kuper's definition of witchcraft among the Swazi (An African Aristocracy, London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute,

<sup>1947,</sup> p. 173) involves the 'inoculation' of a witch's child with 'the special medicines of witch-craft', followed by deliberate 'training' in witch-craft matters,

the wish, to poison people by sorcery may be inherited, especially from the mother' (p. 245: my italics). In other words sorcery is inherited among the Lugbara, apparently genetically. It also seems to be inherent, since Professor Middleton was told of a certain woman, said to be a sorcerer, that 'Her heart does not stay with others, it is bad'. On the other hand, Professor Middleton does not tell us if and how witchcraft is inherited. Indeed, Lugbara themselves find it difficult to distinguish between deaths brought about by witchcraft and by 'ghost invocation' by elders against habitually disobedient juniors. Both are said to be motivated by the sentiment Lugbara call ole (p. 38; p. 239 in Lugbara Religion). In a witchcraft context ole may be translated as 'jealousy' (an unrighteous sentiment) and in a ghost-invocation setting as 'righteous indignation'. Middleton's rich case material shows that the same death may be interpreted by different factions as one or the other, again according to the structural perspective of the interpreters. The fact, too, that both 'witches' and 'sorcerers', in Middleton's usage, may be called oleu (Lugbara Religion, p. 245) a derivative of ole, makes it clear that what is regarded as ideologically important by the Lugbara is belief in the existence of a broad class of persons who can injure others by mystical means irrespective of motive. It is only in the action-field context that allegations of the use of this or that specific means are made by interested parties. Almost every society recognizes such a wide variety of mystically harmful techniques that it may be positively misleading to impose upon them a dichotomous classification. Their name is legion, their form is protean, for the very reason that individual spite is capricious, the ultimate corrosive of structure and rationality. That is why I am not altogether happy about the term 'inversion' employed by Professor Middleton and Professor Winter as a fundamental characteristic of the behaviour of witches. The behaviour of witches in most societies is not altogether, as Professor Winter argues, 'the exact reverse' of that of other people (Witchcraft and Sorcery in East Africa, p. 292). It has certainly some 'inverted' features, but others are rather caricatures of normal behaviour. And the world of witchcraft, as it appears in tribal beliefs, is not the 'structural' world upside-down or in mirror-image. It is a world of decay, where all that is normal, healthy, ordered is reduced to chaos and 'primordial slime '. It is 'anti '-structure, not inverted structure.

Professor Winter, in his chapter on the Amba of western Uganda, feels justified in analysing their witch beliefs in terms that approximate to the Zande model. There is not a complete correspondence, since we find him classing as 'witches' not only those who are born but also those who 'have been initiated into the secret community of witches' (p. 280). Professor Winter departs further from the Zande model when he states that Amba sorcerers and witches are differently motivated: sorcerers have intelligible motives for harming others, 'such as envy, jealousy, and hatred', while witches are motivelessly malignant or kill merely to satisfy 'their abnormal desire for human flesh' (p. 281). Zande witches, on the other hand, are believed to kill out of envy and hatred—sentiments which activate the witchcraft substance within them.

Winter and Middleton, the editors, are perhaps more deeply committed than the other contributors to establishing a sharply dichotomous cleavage between 'witchcraft' and 'sorcery', since they have attempted to make a rather ambitious comparative structural analysis with this distinction as a major conceptual tool. We have

seen, mainly on the basis of data quoted from the symposium itself, how traits assigned by one writer to 'witchcraft' are assigned by another to 'sorcery'-in

short, how there is as yet no standard usage of these terms.

Our editors, however, unperturbed by this major difficulty, gallantly 'stick their necks out', and hypothesize that between societies which utilize either 'witchcraft' or 'sorcery' beliefs in making specific accusations, but not both, there are certain significant structural differences. 'Witchcraft beliefs are thus utilized in societies in which unilineal kinship principles are employed in the formation of local residential groups, larger than the domestic household, while sorcery beliefs tend to be similarly utilized when unilineal principles are not so used' (p. 12). The Lugbara and the Nyoro are cited as illustrations of these respective differences. But two swallows do not make a summer, and two examples do not confirm a generalization. In any case, it is not at all clear that Lugbara accuse one another only of witchcraft, since in Lugbara Religion (pp. 163, 175, 178) certain persons, e.g. Okavu and Olimani, are suspected at times (if not openly accused) of being sorcerers (in terms of Middleton's definition).

Middleton and Winter are on firmer ground when they examine the conditions under which specific accusations of 'wizardry' are made against women and conclude that these 'tend to occur only in those patrilineal societies characterized by the presence of the house property complex' (p. 15). Here they have based their conclusion on a wide range of good ethnographic studies and have felt no need to rely on an arbitrary and artificial terminological distinction.

One is forced to the conclusion that a holistic or 'labelling' approach to the definitional problems discussed in this article is likely to sidetrack investigation from the study of actual behaviour in a social field context to an obsession with the proper pigeon-holing of beliefs and practices as either 'witchcraft' or 'sorcery'. Antisocial magical beliefs and practices have a multitude of 'components' or 'attributes' and operate on a number of socio-cultural 'levels', as our authors have shown. An approach which is fully recognizant of the componential character of these phenomena is likely to be better adapted than the traditional one to the study of African societies as time-sequences, in which persons and groups divide and combine in terms of situationally changing interests, values, and issues. Many African societies recognize the same range of components: 'innate', 'acquired', 'learnt', 'inherited' skills to harm and kill; power to kill immediately and power created by medicines; the use of familiars, visible and invisible; the magical introjection of objects into enemies; nocturnal and diurnal hostile magic; invocation of ghosts by a curse; and so on. But as between societies, and often in different situations in a single society, these components are varyingly clustered and separated. Clues to their clusterings and segregations may be found if societies are analysed in terms of process-theory. Componential analysis at the cultural level is the natural counterpart of social dynamics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The term they propose to use for both 'witchcraft' and 'sorcery'. Since in British folklore a wizard is commonly regarded as a male witch, it does sound a little odd to talk about' female wizards'.

#### Résumé

### LA MAGIE NOIRE ET LA SORCELLERIE: LA TAXONOMIE CONTRE LA DYNAMIQUE

La Magie noire et la Sorcellerie en Afrique de l'Est expose dix récits de croyances en la sorcellerie en Afrique Centrale et de l'Est. Mais le fait qu'un sixième du livre seulement relate des cas précis et les analyse montre une sérieuse insuffisance de méthode. Plusieurs auteurs font une nette distinction entre données 'structurelles' et 'culturelles', et à partir de celle-ci tentent d'exposer les catégories qui en résultent d'une façon rigide et mécanique. Ils auraient pu éviter cette jonglerie en examinant les croyances à la sorcellerie et les accusations dans leur contexte social. Un tel contexte doit comprendre non seulement les phases du cycle de développement de la communauté intéressée, mais aussi l'observation des processus biologiques, écologiques, démographiques, et de l'évolution des relations entre les groupes qui la composent. La collecte de faits historiques qui témoignent des vicissitudes d'une communauté pendant une longue période est une nécessité préalable à cette approche. L'avantage de cette méthode est qu'elle situe chaque chef d'accusation à un moment de l'histoire aussi bien qu'à un état de la structure sociale.

Si l'on examine en détail l'utilisation des termes 'magie noire' et 'sorcellerie', l'on s'aperçoit qu'il n'existe pas de règle définie. En fait, ce que l'un nomme 'magie noire 'est 'sorcellerie' pour l'autre. Le problème se pose, de savoir s'il est profitable de maintenir plus longtemps la distinction. Les différents exemples montrent que le maléfice occulte est considéré par les Africains comme présentant une multitude de caractéristiques, qui se combinent de façon totalement différente suivant les sociétés; certaines le désignent d'un seul terme, d'autres font une discrimination linguistique entre de nombreuses caractéristiques. Ainsi, au Barotseland, emploient-ils le terme muloi pour tout malfaiteur, sans tenir compte du procédé. Par contre, les Gusii du sud-ouest du Kenya distinguent les omorogi (traduit par 'magicien' par le Professeur LeVine) des omonyamosira ('sorciers'). Ces catégories ne correspondent pas au modèle Zandé, puisque le magicien Gusii a 'une tendance consciente au meurtre 'alors que le magicien Zandé peut n'avoir pas conscience de son propre pouvoir. Le sorcier Gusii tue pour protéger un client, le sorcier Zandé pour servir ses intérêts personnels.

Ce nouvel article suggère que, si ceux qui étudient la sorcellerie portaient moins leur attention sur le problème de l'intégration de ces croyances et de ces pratiques aux catégories traditionnelles, mais davantage à leur rôle dans les systèmes sociaux, des progrès considérables seraient faits dans l'étude comparative de ce que Monica Wilson appelle les 'cauchemars standardisés '. Une telle analyse pourrait être une des 'clés de la compréhension des sociétés ' (Wilson), étant donné que la société est conçue comme ' un processus ayant des aspects systématiques ' (Dorothy Emmett) plutôt que sur le modèle d'un système mécanique

ou biologique.

# THE MIGRANT TENANT FARMER OF EASTERN NIGERIA

#### R. K. UDO

In Eastern Nigeria today there is a growing movement of people from very densely populated rural districts to those which are sparsely peopled. The movement involves farmers who, because of the increasing pressure on the already overworked and impoverished soils of their village territories, move to districts favoured with abundant and more fertile farmlands. Migration to the farm during the farming season (February–October) may be distinguished from that in which the migrant stays at his place of work for many years before returning to his own village. The former is generally associated with short-distance movement to farmlands rarely more than twenty miles from the natal village. The latter, on the other hand, often involves movement over long distances. The migrant farmer is engaged not only in growing crops but also in harvesting and processing palm fruits. The various economic, demographic, and environmental factors which give rise to this pattern of farming are discussed in this paper, which also reviews the socio-economic implications of migrant tenant farming in Eastern Nigeria.

Tenant farming, that is the renting of farmland for cropping, is not new in Eastern Nigeria, even though traditional systems of land-ownership gave rise to no landless class. Formerly the landlord and the tenant were members of the same village or of neighbouring villages, save where one of the parties was a relation by marriage. The lease was usually for one year and the plot so rented was just one of the scattered holdings of the local farmer. It did not raise any special problem concerning the relationship between home and the place of work. The migrant farmer of today, on the other hand, may rent plots very far from his home (over a range of 10–100 miles). He is then obliged to keep two homes, one in his own village and one near the place of work.

In the Mba Ise area of Owerri Division, where migrant tenancy is known as ije okpata ('wealth seeking'), and in the Awka Division, local evidence exists to show that these temporary wealth-seeking migrations to distant farmlands date to pre-British days. But such migrations were risky and restricted to periods of non-violence which were few and short-lived. Large-scale migrations followed the pacification of the region by the British. The individual could now move out of his village without fear of capture by slavers, while indiscriminate expansion and encroachment of landhungry groups on the territories of weaker neighbouring groups were arrested, making another way of solving the problem of shortage of farmland necessary.

Previously the expansion of groups who were short of farmland was usually by gradual infiltration as tenant farmers or by forceful encroachment on neighbouring territories. In the former case, the strangers went in to rent farmlands, but had no scruples in ousting their landlords whenever they had the opportunity to do so. At Ekelafor, for instance, the Ngwa settled to farm with the original Ibibio inhabitants whom they subsequently eliminated or absorbed. In the Ndoki area of Aba, an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> J. Jackson, Intelligence Report on the Ngwa Clan of Aba Division, 1930.

Anang stranger group outnumbered their former landlords and claimed the land. These expansions were checked by the government, which also fixed 'clan' boundaries. For effective administration, the government also adopted a policy of encouraging fixed settlements, although the shortage of farmland had long led to the stabilization of settlements in the overcrowded areas.

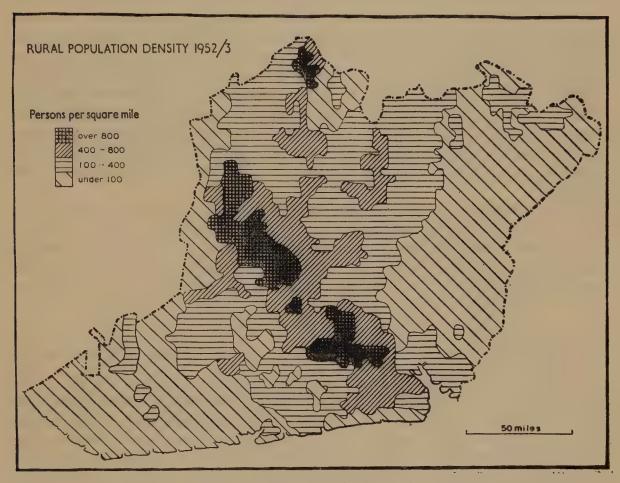


Fig. 1. Rural population density 1952/3.

These restrictions had far-reaching effects on the growing quest for more farmland in the central part of the region. The periodic shifting of farmland and homestead in the past was a fitting reaction to an agricultural system lacking means of manuring, for yams, an important staple crop in the region, thrive best on newly cleared fallow. But with a progressive decrease in bush fallow periods due to increasing population, there has been a corresponding decrease in productivity. The restriction of land-hungry groups from encroaching on the territories of neighbouring groups and the fixing of settlement did not improve the situation. Yields continued to dwindle to the extent that even cassava, which can thrive on poor soils, started to fail. In districts like the Agba Enu zone of Awka Division and Nsudde the problem was aggravated by gully erosion which undermined both dwellings and farmlands. The local inhabitants had to look far beyond their immediate surroundings for farmlands. Hence arose the system of tenant farming whereby some villagers began to travel distances up to over a hundred miles to districts favoured with more farmlands.

The uneven distribution of rural population in Eastern Nigeria is the basic factor underlying this flow of farmers from areas of high pressure on the land to those of low pressure. In Eastern Nigeria, where about 80 per cent. of the population depend directly on proceeds from the farm, the population density may be taken as an index of human pressure on the land. Fig. 1 gives a good impression of the present distribution of population. The average density for the thickly populated belt, which extends across the region from the north-west to the south-east, is 530 persons per square mile. This is more than double the average density for the region as a whole, and within the belt two zones stand out with densities exceeding 800 persons per square mile. One of these includes parts of Onitsha Southern district and northern Owerri, while the other, the southern zone, is made up of parts of Anang and Uyo Provinces. About 20 per cent. of the total population of Eastern Nigeria live in these zones, which together make up only 5 per cent. of the land area of the region. The population density gradually decreases away from the elongated high-density belt, and considerable stretches of the Cross River plains and the Niger Delta are virtually uninhabited.

As may be expected, the most important source regions of migrant tenant farmers are to be found within the belt of very great population densities. A study of Table I will, however, show that some tenant farmers come from less overcrowded districts. The following section reviews the problems of land use which confront the migrant tenant farmer in his home district and which finally induce him to migrate to seek a living in other rural districts.

#### ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN THE HOME DISTRICT OF THE MIGRANT TENANT FARMER

The Agba Enu (that is the upland people) zone of Awka Division is one of the over-farmed regions where land shortage has long presented problems. Apart from the high rural density of 800-1,000 persons per square mile and the sandy soils, which the district has in common with the other overcrowded areas, Agba Enu is a plateau which ends in an escarpment along the eastern edge. This eastern scarp has been the scene of serious gully erosion, due in part to the structural condition of the locality, but aggravated by interference with nature's balance in the soil, through a long period of cropping without the use of manure. Gullies have undermined both farmlands and homesteads, and bush-invaded compounds, recently abandoned because of the threat of advancing gullies, may be seen at Amoji village in Agulu territory. Crop yields are very poor. In the past the people supplemented farm income through a strictly guarded monopoly of local blacksmithing. But the importation of better and cheaper iron tools from abroad has greatly undermined this industry. There has also been direct displacement of a large number of families under the belated conservation regulations of the local Native Authority, which has prohibited the cultivation of certain parts of the uplands still threatened by gully erosion. People so displaced have had to look for farmlands elsewhere.

Orlu, Okigwi, Mba-Ise, and the Mba-Itoli-Ikeduru districts are other parts of central Iboland which suffer from overcrowding. But, like the Ibibio areas mentioned below, these other districts are generally low-lying and do not suffer from gully erosion. Among the Isu of Orlu and Mba Ise, the population density exceeds 1,000

persons per square mile in most localities. The Ibibio districts include the Anang provincial areas of Ikot Ekpene and Abak, Eastern Ibibio Ikono district, and parts of Uruan. Already in 1912 the population density of the Anang areas was estimated at 800 persons per square mile. It was noted at that time that farmland was inadequate

TABLE I

The Home District and the Destination of the Migrant Tenant Farmer (see Fig. 2)

Population density zone	Home of migrants	Destination of the tenant farmer
The high-density zones of Iboland. The population density here exceeds 800 persons per square mile	Agba Enu (upland) zone of Akwa district	<ol> <li>The Mamu River flood-plains</li> <li>The Niger-Anambra plains</li> <li>Ogwashi Uku district of Western Nigeria</li> </ol>
	The Isu-Ibo area of Orlu and Okigwi	1. Bende district 2. Oguta
	Mba-Ise and Mba-Itoli-Ikeduru area of Owerri Division	1. Ahoada 2. Asa area of Aba 3. Eleme district
	Nsukka district	1. Nike territory 2. Anambra River plains
The high-density zones of Ibibioland	Eastern Ibibio Ikono and parts of Uruan	<ol> <li>Okoyong</li> <li>Calabar–Ikang district</li> <li>The Cross River plains at Enyong</li> </ol>
	The Anang areas of Abak and Ikot Ekpene	Okoyong     The former slave farms of Creek     Town and Calabar
The medium-density areas with 600 to 800 persons per square mile	Ezza area of Abakaliki	<ol> <li>Ishielu district</li> <li>Nike territory</li> <li>Bende district</li> <li>Cross River plains above Ediba</li> </ol>
	Afikpo and Edda	<ol> <li>The Cross River flood-plains at Enyong</li> <li>Bende district</li> <li>Eleme</li> </ol>
	Udi district	1. Nike territory 2. The Mamu River flood-plains

to support this density, which was largely made possible by proceeds from the oil-palm. The degree and duration of the pressure on the land may be appreciated from the fact that in a climatically high forest region the present-day vegetation is open palm bush.

Outside the central high-population density belt, the home districts of the migrant tenant farmers include Nsukka, Udi, the Ezza area of Abakaliki, and the Edda area

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> D. Forde and G. I. Jones, The Ibo and Ibibio-speaking Peoples of South-Eastern Nigeria (London, 1950), p. 83.

of Afikpo (Fig. 2). These latter districts are not as heavily farmed nor are they as densely peopled as those discussed already. Yet migrant farmers from the Ezza-Afikpo area appear more widespread than those from the more densely settled areas. The case of the Ezza farmer may be presented as follows. The Ezza are hardworking hoe cultivators whose most important crop is the yam. They have migrated to farm various parts of the grass plains west of the Cross River and have founded two large

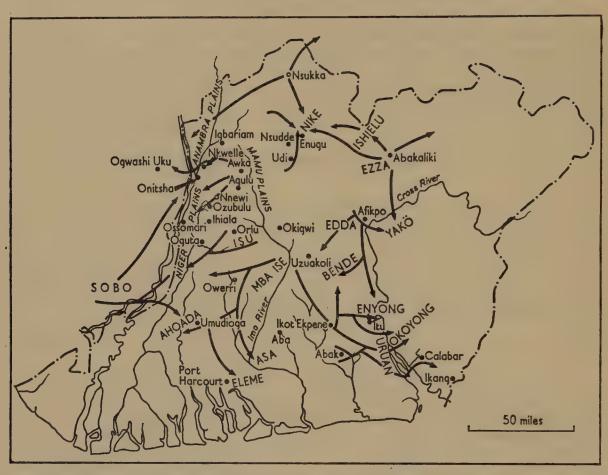


Fig. 2. The movement of migrant tenant farmers in Eastern Nigeria (arrows indicate direction of movement).

colonies, Ezzagu and Effum, in the Ishielu local council area. It was the intervention of the British that prevented their other numerous farming outposts from growing into large colonies. Chapman attributed Ezza expansion to inherent land-grabbing tendencies, arising from reluctance to cultivate the same ground at regular intervals like other Ibo. He gave the Ezza credit for being a farmer of great proficiency. Chubb also described the Ezza as the best farmer in Eastern Nigeria, combining great industry and superior intelligence, as shown by his constant search in distant markets for new and better strains of yams. What Chapman did not fully appreciate is that the Ezza has been wholly tied to his hoe and has not got the oil palm to supplement his income. Also, unlike farmers from other Ibo sub-tribal groups, who normally have an additional occupation such as petty trading or carpentry, the Ezza depends

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> G. B. G. Chapman, Intelligence Report on the Ezza Clan of Abakaliki Division, 1932.

<sup>2</sup> L. T. Chubb, *Ibo Land Tenure* (Ibadan, 1961), p. 43.

solely on the produce of his farm. This explains, at least in part, why the Ezza appears more mobile than those whose home villages are more crowded or have poorer soils.

The Sobo, who are even more widespread as tenant farmers in Eastern Nigeria although they come all the way from the Western Nigeria section of the Niger Delta, are found as far east as the lower Cross River plains north of Calabar. It is therefore necessary to undertake a quick review of the economic situation in Soboland, even though this district lies outside Eastern Nigeria.

It is only the Isoko, the Sobo of eastern Soboland, who migrate to farm in Eastern Nigeria. The Isoko are farmers while the western Sobo are traders. At home, the Isoko cultivate yams and cassava as main food crops, but their chief source of income is the oil-palm. They have abundant level land, most of which is flooded during the rains. A rain flood (ovo) and a river flood (owhe) are distinguished by the Sobo. The former is due to local rains, about 90 in. of which is concentrated within a few months of the year. Eastern Sobo soil is porous and very pervious, resulting in a rapid rise of the groundwater level, a process which finally floods the lowlands. Since the rains also cause a corresponding rise in the level of the local rivers, the ovo river-flood water is held back and the result is a prolonged and often disastrous flood. Both floods have a profound effect on the economy and life of the people. Cultivable land is very restricted, and many Isoko are obliged to move out to other districts where there is more land. Such migrants are called ukane, an Isoko word which means 'to leave one's home to earn money in a foreign land'.

# THE DESTINATIONS OF THE MIGRANTS

The areas to which the migrant farmers go vary considerably. Some are river flood plains and others are open hill country. The local inhabitants of the districts are diverse in language, custom, and in particular their taboos concerning the land, and it is not surprising that the terms of tenancy also vary. The common feature of these areas is that either there is more land than is at present needed by the local people, or there are certain types of work like the collecting of oil-palm fruit which the people of the locality, who probably depended much on slave labour in the past, will not undertake. The main regions which attract the migrant farmer include the Niger-Anambra flood-plains, Nike village-group territory, the Bende hill country, and various districts of the lower Cross River plains (Fig. 2). Each of these regions will be discussed in turn, with particular reference to its nature and position, the work done by the migrant tenant, and the terms of tenancy.

One of the most extensive areas to which migrant tenant farmers go lies in the Niger-Anambra flood-plains. In the section below Onitsha the tenant farmers mainly come from the impoverished uplands of Awka District. Others include migrants from the neighbouring villages of Nnewi, Ozubulu, and Ihiala, as well as people who have come from more distant districts such as eastern Owerri Province and the Sobo district of Warri Province.

There are two occupational categories of tenant farmers here—those whose main occupation is collecting and processing of oil-palm fruit, and those who come primarily to grow crops.<sup>2</sup> The cultivators rent land on short-term lease. They are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> J. W. Hubbard, *The Sobo of the Niger Delta*<sup>2</sup> There is a third group of tenants who act as middlemen in the oil trade between the producers

mainly farmers from the nearby village-groups and they come in thousands every year, but go singly or in small groups to negotiate their leases. Most of them live in temporary farm huts, but semi-permanent structures are not uncommon, since these can be sold on retirement to new immigrants. Rents were at first paid in kind, but later a cash payment of about ten shillings per annum was introduced. It is still considered a good gesture to give a few yams after harvests to the landlord, in addition to the cash payment. The tenant may farm as much land as he can after the payment of this sum. It is rare to find a man who can manage more than 1.5 acres, but this is considerable compared to the tiny holdings of about 0.25 acre in the overcrowded areas. Unlike the scattered plots of the migrant's native village, the farmland is continuous, and since the farmer lives on his farm the usual long journeys are obviated.

Migrant tenants who have come from more distant places, such as eastern Soboland and the Isu Ibo areas of Owerri and Okigwi Divisions, form the second group of stranger farmers in this district. They are most numerous in the Asa area of Aba, the Ohaba area of Owerri, and in Ahoada, where they rent patches of palm grove for exploitation. In the first two districts the oil-palm receives very little attention from the local male population, which is absorbed in the production of garri, a local staple prepared from cassava. The result is that much palm fruit which could have been harvested is wasted. In Ahoada the native population is too small to harvest all the palms. But in the Ossomari area the local natives just do not climb the palms. In coming to harvest palm fruit on a tenancy basis, the migrant farmer is in no way competing with the natives of the areas; and this is an important point in assessing the tenant-landlord relationship.

The Sobo and the Isu Ibo go in groups to negotiate the terms of tenancy. This procedure is similar to that adopted by the migrant cocoa farmers of Southern Ghana.<sup>1</sup> But while the migrants of Southern Ghana buy the land outright and share it out in strips to each member of the group, the groups of migrants in Eastern Nigeria are merely tenants and have no organized way of allocating the leased land among themselves.

It is also pertinent to observe that farming is often subsidiary to the main occupation of the Nigerian migrant, which in many areas consists of collecting and processing palm fruit. The migrants settle in small companies of a family or two, and there is an understanding that the settlements be spaced out to provide for a contiguous area large enough to keep the settlers busy for the whole season. Sobo migrants usually take their wives and children with them to help in processing palm-oil and in cracking the nuts for kernels. They tend to stay away from their home district for much longer periods than tenant farmers from other areas. This is partly because of the absence of direct road communications between Soboland and the tenanted districts. But the Isu Ibo, whose home districts are more readily accessible, usually leave their wives and children behind. The normal rent in this district for this category of tenant farmers is about twenty shillings per man per annum. The tenant may also farm the land near his settlement and the Sobo often fish at slack seasons.

and the large oil-trading firms like John Holt and the United Africa Company. The trader tenants are Kalabari Ijaw from the eastern part of the Niger delta who settle on rented land along the creeks of Ahoada and Oguta. Agreements to settle are

terminable if this group of tenants engages in farming. See L. T. Chubb, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>1</sup> Polly Hill, 'The Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana', Africa, xxxi (1961), p. 213.

North of Onitsha, the Niger lowland extends eastwards into the Anambra trough which is another sparsely settled district frequented by migrant tenant farmers. Most of the migrants to this section of the region are farmers from the Agba Enu villages of Awka Division. They go in hundreds, farm for a season, and return home after harvest to await the beginning of the next farming year. The Sobo also feature here, but mainly as yam cultivators and fishermen. A number of farm huts belonging to Sobo tenants may be seen along both banks of the Ezechi River at Anam. Behind these huts the Sobo grow yams and groundnuts.

Another area which attracts the migrant tenant farmer is the territory of Nike village-group which begins only four miles north-east of Enugu, the capital of Eastern Nigeria. It covers an area of 200 square miles on the plains immediately below the Udi escarpment. The population density of only 52 persons per square mile shows a great contrast to the density of about 600 on the uplands above the escarpment. It is interesting to note how Nike people came to own so much land, which, as Fig. 1 shows, is encircled by districts with greater concentrations of people. During the period of the slave trade Nike acted as the northern agents of the Aro, whose notorious oracle, the Long Juju, was the chief medium for recruiting slaves over much of eastern Nigeria. In this capacity, Nike raided the entire country around them, but although the aims of the raids were primarily to enslave and pillage, rather than the acquisition of more territory, Nike ended up with a large expanse of land laid waste, which by right of conquest became theirs. Today, the Nike plains form another area of tenant farming for the overcrowded villages of the uplands behind the escarpment. The migrant farmer has no difficulty in negotiating a lease at Nike owing to the apathy of the local people towards farming. Nike people look down on such jobs as bush clearing, the digging of yam hills and the tapping of palm wine, all of which were formerly done by the large numbers of domestic slaves kept by them. At present they depend on hired labour for their farms, hence Horton's observation that, to the Nike farmer, 'going farm work' consists of sitting down under a shady tree and shouting an occasional word of encouragement to a toiling hired labourer. The labourers come from the plateau villages and from the Ezza clan area of Abakaliki. It was these labourers who, on realizing the agricultural potentialities of Nike soil and the attitude of the local natives towards farming, started to lease farmland on a short-term basis.

Table II shows the rent paid in 1962 at various Nike stranger settlements. As indicated in the table, the rent varied with the different villages. The money usually goes into village council funds. A commission of two shillings in Iji village and five shillings in Ibagwa was paid to the villager through whom the tenant farmer was introduced into the village territory.

The hilly country of Bende Division attracts stranger farmers from Edda and Akaeze in Afikpo Division. In this region the tenant farmers usually settle in groups of two or three families in small settlements called ogo ubi ('house built in the farm'). The migrant farmers are particularly numerous in the territories belonging to the village-groups of Uzuakoli and Bende. Bende, and later Uzuakoli, ranked with Uburu as the largest slave markets of interior Eastern Nigeria. Their inhabitants, like those

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> W. R. G. Horton, 'The Ohu System of Slavery in a Northern Ibo Village-Group', Africa, xxiv (1954), p. 318.

of Nike, depended much on slave labour in the past. Today the people are said to lack skill in climbing the oil-palm trees, and so they engage people from outside to harvest palm fruit. The people so employed also process the fruit for oil, an agreed proportion of the oil going to the landlord. As in the districts already discussed, such migrants also cultivate some plots.

A large seasonal flow of farm labourers from Afikpo District features in this region. Some work for cash, while others receive in payment some plots which they farm for themselves. The environmental difference between Afikpo area and the Bende region makes it possible for the Afikpo migrants to move in and out of Bende as described below. Afikpo is open grassland while Bende is largely wooded. The

TABLE II

Rent Paid at Nike by Migrant Tenant Farmers in 1962

Village Area	Settlements of the migrants	Rent per man per annum
Ugwogo Nike	Egbe Belu Ugo Belu (= 'live and let live') farm settlement, peopled by Udi immigrants	245.
Iji Nike	(a) Ugbo Oghe (= the farm of Oghe people) (b) Ugbo Nde Owa (c) Agu Odogwu (= Odogwu people's farm)	125.
Ibagwa Nike	(a) Akpalata farm (b) Iyiuku farm (near the Iyiuku River) (c) Iyoku farm (near the Iyoku River)	25s. ,,

Afikpo farmer therefore has no serious problem in preparing his farm for cropping. By late January, when the harmattan has scorched the grass dry, the Afikpo farmer can fire his plot without the laborious job of first clearing it. This allows him time to travel to Bende area, where he hires out himself to clear the bush for some lazy farmers or those who want to cultivate more land than they can clear alone. While the cleared patch at Bende is left to dry before being fired, the Afikpo farmer returns home to hoe his farm. This is all planted by April, when he returns to Bende with his large hoe specially made for raising huge yam hills. After the planting season those who work for cash return home while the rest remain to cultivate some plot of their own.

The last important region where numerous tenant farmers are found is the lower Cross River plains at Enyong, Okoyong, and Calabar. The farm huts found on both sides of the Cross River north and south of Itu belong to stranger farmers and recall the scene along the Ezechi River at Anam. The huts, which have mud walls and matthatched roofs, are sited on natural levees. Their living conditions are appalling, especially during the rains, when most of the plains is flooded. The occupants are tenant farmers from Ibiono and Afikpo. Their main occupation in this region is harvesting and processing oil-palm fruit. The average rent is five shillings per month. The migrant farmers of this region usually stay for many years before retiring, and in addition to their main occupation all of them cultivate some portion of farmland.

The district occupied by Okoyong people is situated on the left bank of the Cross River, a few miles below Enyong. The district was formerly settled by Ibibio groups who were ejected by the present inhabitants, a fierce and warlike people from the Cameroon hills. As at Nike, the conquerors ended up with more territory than they could effectively control. They are still too few to utilize much of their land. These largely empty plains have attracted the land-hungry Ibibio farmer, who now returns to part of his former territory as a tenant farmer. The migrants come mainly from Abak, Ikot Ekpene, Eastern Ibibio Ikono, and Uruan. There are also a number of Ibo. The tenant farmers of this region specialize in growing cassava, which is curious in view of the fact that cassava has come to be regarded, in Eastern Nigeria, as the woman's crop, yam being the man's crop. But the cultivation of cassava, unlike that of yam, requires few resources and is thus within the reach of every migrant farmer. Cassava also gives a higher yield per acre than yam, and being a hardier crop is more tolerable of the acidic soils of the region. For these and other reasons, cassava is fast displacing yam as the staple food of Eastern Nigeria. It is mostly taken in the form called garri, a semolina-type of flour from the grated pulp of the root. Cassava is, in addition, an all-season crop, but it is the fact that cassava requires less muscular effort and very little capital that made it the crop of the woman. At Okoyong today, large plantations of cassava in all stages of development dominate the landscape.

The Calabar district covers the eastern part of the Cross River estuary. Much of this region, particularly the section linking Calabar to Ikang, was the slave plantations of Old Calabar. Today it is another area of extensive cassava plantations run by Ibibio and Ibo tenant farmers. The cassava growers of these two last districts pay rent in cash and they stay on for many years before returning to their home villages.

Other areas frequented by the migrant tenant farmer are Eleme near Port Harcourt and the Cross River plains above Ediba. In both areas yam is the chief crop and the stranger farmers are mainly Ibo.

# Social Problems Created by Migrant Tenancy Farming in Eastern Nigeria

The movement of rural population, from areas of high population density to those with low density, appears in the present circumstances to be a fitting reaction to the imbalance in the distribution of man and the land, the basic resource in Eastern Nigeria. With increasing population and growing unemployment, migrant tenancy appears bound to continue, at least for some time to come, the establishment by government of plantations and farm settlements notwithstanding. It is therefore necessary to examine closely some of the questions raised by migrant tenant farming in the region. What, for instance, is the relationship between the stranger farmer and the owner of the land? Is there any appreciable improvement in the economic position of the migrant tenant as a direct result of this system of cultivation? What are the effects of the system on the family of the migrant farmer, especially where the home and the education of the children are concerned?

In some districts like Okoyong and Umudioga, the migrant farmers outnumber the local inhabitants, a situation which makes the latter feel insecure about the future. This causes some resentment, especially with the coming of local government and the rightful claim of the resident migrant farmer to a say in the expenditure of the rates he pays. The local people, however, regard the migrant farmers as aliens who should have no say in local affairs. At Umudioga in Ahoada, there were 289 strangers registered in the 1960 Federal electoral register as against 206 indigenes, and in the local council both parties have equal representation numerically.

At Okoyong the local inhabitants blame the displacement of yam by cassava on the migrant farmer, whom they also accuse of impoverishing the land by over-cultivating it. There is a strong feeling here against the migrant farmer, but it appears that there is nothing the chiefs can do, since each individual family is at liberty to lease its farmland for cash. The writer was present at a meeting of Okoyong chiefs who complained bitterly about the impoverishment of their land by migrant tenant farmers. The chiefs offered to give the unused portion of their land to the Department of Agriculture for development rather than have it let to the ever-increasing number of migrant tenant farmers. But it is doubtful if such a move is possible or can check migrant tenancy in this district.

In the Igbariam territory of the middle Anambra plains, Awka migrant farmers ran into difficulties in 1920, when their farms were raided by another group of dissatisfied tenant farmers. The Awka migrants were late-comers to Igbariam territory, and to get sufficient farmland they were prepared to pay higher rents than their predecessors, the non-Awka tenant farmers. Since they were very hard-working they are reported to have had better harvests than the non-Awka tenants, and it is also said that their wives undersold those of earlier migrants in the local markets. The earlier migrants resented this and tried to set the Igbariam against the Awka migrants. When this move failed, the non-Awka tenants raided the Awka farms for three days (1 to 3 March), when yams which had recently been planted were removed or destroyed. For this outrage the non-Awka farmers were subsequently forced to pay compensation amounting to f.7,000.1 This incident sent some Awka farmers to other regions, but they met with no greater success in their public relations, this time with the native inhabitants of these regions. In 1943, for instance, the Nkwelle village council prohibited further renting of land to tenant farmers from Awka villages. This followed a claim by some Awka farmers that the land on which they farmed had been purchased outright from a Nkwelle family. Two years later there was another collective refusal, this time by villages in the Mamu plains, to lease land to Awka migrants. Such boycotts have, among other things, contributed to sending the Awka tenant farmer across the River Niger to the Ogwashi Uku district of Benin Province.

The migrant tenant farmer is often accused of disrespect for local institutions and customs. Awka tenants in the Mamu plains have also been accused of singing derisive songs which portray the local people as lazy and unprogressive farmers who rent their lands to obtain a living. Such accusations often originate from villagers who advocate the stoppage of migrant tenancy in their territory. But as a source of extra revenue the migrant farmer is a welcome tenant. This is particularly so in such areas as Asa and Enyong, where he harvests palm fruit that would otherwise be lost. He is welcomed in the Bende area, where he is credited with the introduction of rice growing. Before 1950 no rice was grown in the Elu Elu district of this region, but about 1952 some Afikpo tenant farmers at Ugueke village cultivated rice in a small

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Anon., Report on the Raid on Farms of the Enugus by certain Awka Towns, 1920/21. National Archives, Enugu CSE 1/49/5.

plot near a local river flood plain. The yield was considerable and attracted the attention of the native inhabitants. By 1955 over forty farmers in the village were reported cultivating rice in plots of just below an acre each. At present rice cultivation has spread to other Elu Elu villages.

Where the main occupation of the tenant farmer is the harvesting of palm fruit, the farmers must live far apart so that around each group of farm huts there is a sufficient stand of palms to keep the tenant occupied for much of the season. This has led to scattered habitations in such areas, with the various social problems associated with this type of settlement. It is, for instance, difficult to find schools for children who stay with their parents in the farms and this is one reason why many children are left behind at home when their parents migrate to distant farmlands. Along the creeks of the lower Cross River children are commonly seen paddling from the farm huts to the nearest schools. But in the more distant farms children of school age spend the day working on the farms.<sup>1</sup>

In 1955 the Awka Divisional Council complained of decreasing revenue owing to the migration of men to distant farmlands. The council estimated a revenue loss of £500-£700 per annum, a considerable sum to a local council in Eastern Nigeria. The tenant farmer pays his tax at his place of work, but leaves his family behind at Awka, where the council is expected to provide some basic social services for them.

The cost of maintaining two homes from a meagre income often results in one or both of them being unfit for occupation. In such villages as Umueze Anam more than half the buildings are deserted for most of the year when the owners are away at their distant farms.

The migrant tenant farmer often takes to farming as a step to raising capital for trading. This is particularly true of those whose main job is the harvesting and processing of palm fruit. There are unfortunately no statistical data on any aspect of migrant tenancy, including the net income of the various categories of tenant farmers. But many hard-working tenant farmers find it worth while to continue with this system of farming. Some of them retire with sufficient money to put up permanent buildings in their home villages, and some combine to buy a transport lorry.

Apart from the financial benefit of the individual farmer, the migrant tenant farmers are making a substantial contribution to the economy of the region. Their extensive cassava plantations make commercial production of garri a reality, since a mechanical grater can be economically installed. It is probable that the sparsely settled regions to which the migrant farmer goes will long remain the main food-producers of Eastern Nigeria. As long as the natives of these regions disapprove of the cultivation of cassava, the migrant farmer will occupy an increasingly important position in feeding the growing population of the region.

A permanent colonization of the sparsely settled districts of Eastern Nigeria would seem to offer, in many ways, a better alternative to the present system of farming them on a tenancy basis. This would involve a resettlement scheme aimed at redistributing the population of Eastern Nigeria with the view to making the best use of the land. Such a scheme would help to relieve the pressure on farmland in the

Resettlement in the Eastern Provinces of Nigeria', Farm and Forest, vii (1946), 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> H. J. M. Harding, 'The Bamenda Cross River Calabar Scheme', Farm and Forest, xi (1952), 44-48; also P. L. Allpress, 'Post-War Settlement and

overcrowded districts and farmers would cease to travel long distances to rent land to cultivate. But the problems facing such a scheme are not easy to tackle, as is shown by an abortive attempt in 1948 by government to redistribute population in Eastern

Nigeria.

The two major problems facing any scheme of resettlement are related to the ownership of the land for resettlement and the reluctance of the people to migrate permanently from their village of birth. In the first place the settlers will come from a different tribe from that of the owners of the land on which they would settle, and the latter are bound to object to this. Apart from the land question, it is difficult to persuade villagers from the overcrowded districts to emigrate permanently. The teacher, the trader in town, or even the civil servant from Eastern Nigeria hopes to retire to his village of birth and so does the migrant tenant farmer. The resettled farmer cannot do this. It is not surprising therefore that the government resettlement scheme met with so little response from those who were expected to benefit from it. Indeed the people of Awka district, for example, were openly hostile to the scheme. If enforced movement of population is ruled out, the establishment of plantations offers an attractive way to develop the sparsely settled areas. Land for plantations can be acquired by government and the labour force readily recruited from the overpopulated districts. The plantation labourer can retire to his village when he is old and the question of his colonizing the land of other tribes will not arise. But this alternative will not, at least for some time, provide a check on migrant tenant farming. Moreover the labour force for a plantation is limited and plantations cannot absorb most of the unemployed in Eastern Nigeria today.

In the circumstances, therefore, migrant tenant farming is likely to continue in Eastern Nigeria. As a system of farming it is beset with many problems; but it undoubtedly brings one immediate benefit both to the tenant and the landlord. By harvesting and processing palm fruit which would otherwise be wasted, the migrant tenant contributes towards the production of the most important export commodities of Eastern Nigeria—palm-oil and palm-kernel. With regard to food production, it is the sparsely settled areas that offer the necessary land for producing food in excess of local demand. But since the local inhabitants of such areas usually dislike farmwork, the task of raising more food to meet the increasing demand of both the urban areas and the impoverished overcrowded districts is increasingly being performed by the

migrant tenant farmer.

# Résumé

# LES MIGRATIONS DE TENANCIERS DANS L'EST DE LA NIGÉRIA

On observe à l'heure actuelle dans l'Est de la Nigéria un mouvement périodique croissant de la population rurale qui se déplace des régions à densité très forte (plus de 800 habitants au Km²) vers des régions à population clairsemée (moins de 100 habitants au Km²). Il faut distinguer les migrations qui durent un an vers les régions voisines, de celles plus lointaines, à des distances atteignant 100 miles de la région d'origine du migrant. Dans ce dernier cas, le tenancier reste éloigné pendant plusieurs années de son village natal.

Le fermage, c'est-à-dire la mise en location de la terre pour la culture, n'est pas nouveau dans l'Est de la Nigéria, mais habituellement, le propriétaire et le tenancier étaient membres

du même village ou de villages voisins. A l'exception d'une ou deux régions, le fermage à longue distance n'apparut qu'après la pacification de la région par les Anglais. Cet article étudie les conditions économiques existant dans le pays d'origine des migrants et les différentes façons dont ils gagnent leur vie dans un nouveau milieu. Ceux qui entreprennent la culture du sol le font souvent sur une large échelle, contrairement aux autochtones, et ils vendent la plus grande partie de leur production. Dans certaines régions, les migrants s'occupent principalement de la récolte et de la préparation des fruits de palmier. L'article examine aussi les conséquences socio-économiques qu'entraînent ces migrations dans les différentes ethnies.

# TRADITIONAL HISTORY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN UFIPA

R. G. WILLIS

### FIPA SOCIETY

THE Fipa of south-western Tanganyika are a Bantu-speaking people numbering 78,000 at the last tribal census in 1948. Most of them live on a high and largely deforested plateau bounded on the west by the southern extremity of Lake Tanganyika and on the east by Lake Rukwa. On the plateau, a corridor of land roughly 140 miles long and varying from 30 to 50 miles in width, the Fipa are agriculturalists and raisers of livestock, particularly cattle, goats, and poultry; their principal crops are millet, maize, and beans. Along the shores of the two lakes the Fipa are also fishermen.

The people live in concentrated villages which tend to be rather widely separated from each other. They may be said to observe a form of double descent, since although the unit of exogamy is a patrilineage and marriage residence is normally virilocal, inheritance of widows and property is traditionally from mother's brother to sister's son. The indigenous political system of the Fipa consisted of a hierarchy of non-hereditary officials headed by a chief or king (Mwene) with whom was associated a queen-mother and a sister who shared the royal attributes in the familiar 'Sudanic' pattern.¹ Ufipa was split into two such states called Nkansi and Lyangalile; the two states were ruled by related families and made frequent war on each other.

### **ORIGINS**

The establishment of chiefship in Ufipa seems to have occurred quite recently by comparison with the ancient states of the Congo to the west or the Interlacustrine region to the north: at a rough guess, between 150 and 200 years ago. This is time enough, however, for the elaboration of a rich and extensive mythico-historical narrative; and it is with the opening phases of this recital, that part of it which most obviously seeks to validate and explain the existing order of society in Ufipa, that the present article is concerned.

Approaching Fipa oral history, we find that it is not one history but two, that instead of the single focus of tradition to be found in some other African states there are here two such foci; nevertheless, there is still a sense in which we may speak of a single body of traditional history in Ufipa since the accounts from these two sources, in spite of many disagreements, are recognizably about the same series of events or supposed events.

The narratives which follow were collected from elders associated with the present

<sup>1</sup> The term 'Sudanic' is due to Oliver and Fage (1962), pp. 44-52. Lechaptois (1913) gives a reasonably full account of the organization of the Fipa state; but he omits to mention the Mwene's sister, called *Unntalaila*, who had very high ritual status at the Fipa court—a common feature of other states

of this type.

<sup>2</sup> Three, if one includes Lyangalile; but, as will emerge in this article, the tradition of Lyangalile shares a common origin with that of Nkansi, whereas Nkansi and Milansi are mutually independent sources of tradition.

chief of Nkansi, the northern Twachi chiefdom of Ufipa; and from the present chief of Milansi, a village dominating a small enclave within Nkansi.

Fipa traditional history begins with the appearance in what is now Ufipa of a man called Ntatakwa, whose name means 'I will not be spoken to 'or 'I will not be told'. Ntatakwa was accompanied by his sister's son Tafuna, 'the Eater-Up'. Ntatakwa

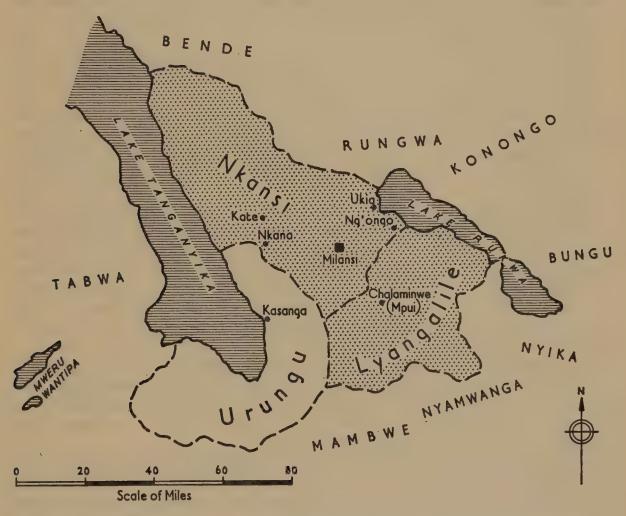


Fig. 1. Map showing chiefdom boundaries and important villages. Names of outlying peoples are written in capitals.

and Tafuna are said to have come from a country to the south-west of Ufipa in what is now Northern Rhodesia, called Mwelu Wantipa (presumably not far from the lake Mweru Wantipa, some 70 miles west of the southern tip of Lake Tanganyika). The older man climbed a hill near Kate, not far from the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika; but he found it too cold and went on into the interior of Ufipa until he came to the hill or mountain called Itwelele, about five miles from what is now Sumbawanga, the administrative centre of Ufipa; here, at the foot of this mountain, he built a village, which he called Milansi. Ntatakwa set himself up as the chief of this new land, but we are not told who his subjects were, or indeed if there were any.

His nephew Tafuna stayed behind on the Lake Tanganyika shore and became the first chief of Urungu, Mwene Urungu.<sup>1</sup>

There are several reasons for supposing that this story of Ntatakwa and Tafuna contains a kernel of historical truth. To begin with, it is reasonable to suppose that such accounts as this, naming specific places and directions, are not just invented but are based on a series of real events, however much the factual basis may have been distorted in the telling. But, in addition, there is other and extrinsic evidence which tends to support this story.

(a) There is said to be a tradition among the Luba of Katanga that members of a tribe related to the Luba, the Tabwa, established themselves in Urungu, and that

others settled in Ufipa. (Colle (1913), vol. i, pp. 50-54.)

(b) It is widely believed by the Fipa that at some time in the pre-European past immigrants came into the country from the Congo, and that they spoke Tabwa. I have heard it asserted that the present inhabitants of Milansi are descended from Tabwa.

- (c) The Fipa and Tabwa languages are akin; Doke classifies them both as dialects of Bemba.
- (d) The social organization and customs of the Tabwa, as described by Cunnison, include several features which are or were common also to the Fipa. For instance, the concentration of villages in the interests of defence and the building of a stockade and sometimes a trench round the perimeter (1959, p. 115); divination by hunting, the issue being decided by the sex of the animals taken (p. 92); preferential father's sister's daughter marriage (p. 101)—though Fipa do not have a corresponding feeling against mother's brother's daughter marriage, as described by Cunnison; the use of bored stones as so-called 'fetishes' (p. 221).

I do not want to suggest that there is anything conclusive about these various pieces of evidence, even when considered together; I mention them only because they do go part of the way to placing the stamp of authenticity on this story of Ntatakwa and Tafuna and the land of Mwelu Wantipa, raising it to the status of the plausible from that of the entirely uncorroborated.

To return now to Milansi and the traditions of its chiefship. The name Milansi was said by one informant to mean 'that which cannot be moved' and it seems that the Mwene's (chief's) village has always been sited somewhere in the near vicinity of the mountain Itwelele. I have been shown what were said to be the sites of former Milansis, including the trees planted over the house-graves of the old chiefs, and the remains of defensive trenches—all within a few hundred yards of the present village of Milansi. I was also shown what was said to be the grave of Ntatakwa, marked by a roughly triangular stone a foot or so across, set in a cleared space. Another informant told me that 'Milansi fell with the earth' (Milansi lyaponile n'innsi). This is a reference to Fipa cosmology, according to which the earth originally fell from the sky; therefore to say that Milansi fell with the earth is to assert that it was there from the very beginning of things. In Fipa the verb kumila means 'to swallow' (ku being the prefix) and nnsi means country, land, or earth; so Milansi could mean 'swallow the country'. The ideas of 'primacy' and 'sovereignty' do seem to be closely associated with this word Milansi, the name of the oldest capital of Ufipa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Rungu themselves have a more complicated version of this story, but the details of it are not relevant to the present discussion.

The sacred element in the Milansi chiefship is located not in the village but in the mountain Itwelele which towers beside it. The present Mwene Milansi, an old man called Chatakwa Mauto, told me that the significance of Itwelele is that, standing on the summit, one may see both the Tanganyika and Rukwa lakes, the western and eastern boundaries respectively of Fipa territory. The spirits (*imisimu*) of former chiefs live on the top of Itwelele, and the present chief periodically sacrifices there. Itwelele is itself a spirit and a very 'fierce' one, according to Chatakwa. In the numerous wars of former days it was wont to sally forth and rout hostile forces before they could reach Milansi.

The traditional history of Milansi, as told by Chatakwa, says that the first chief, Ntatakwa, attained a great age, 'because in those days people lived long'. His son and successor Sulandasi seems to have been an exception to this rule, since he is said to have lived for only one year after becoming chief. Sulandasi's son Ntaseka (meaning: 'I will not laugh') was the next Mwene Milansi. (It was after the reign of Ntaseka, Chatakwa says, that the rule of chiefly succession was changed from patrilineal to matrilineal, i.e. from father to son to mother's brother to sister's son. Chatakwa received the traditions of Milansi from the lips of his mother.) During the reign of Ntaseka, the third Mwene Milansi, two Nyika (or Nyiha) hunters, Sikaungu and Nkonje, who were to play a crucial part in later developments, arrived at Milansi and asked for fire. Ntaseka sent his son Mkali to tell them to bring him meat, which they did. The two hunters then stayed with Mwene Milansi as his guests.

## ARRIVAL OF THE STRANGERS

We now come to the central series of alleged events in Fipa traditional history, and for the opening stages of the drama we must go to the opposite camp to Milansi, to the chief Joseph Kapufi II whose present royal village is Sumbawanga, a mile or so from the administrative centre of the same name. This chiefdom began, the story says, in a dream:

Two women who were sisters lived in the country of Uha. For a long time they dreamt of a country where there were no people and no chief. Eventually they set out, looking for this country. When they had travelled some way to the south they saw a tree with a fruit which reminded them of a tree they had seen in their dream. One, the younger, wanted to pick the fruit, but the elder refused and said that if it were indeed the fruit they had seen in their dream, which was called masuku, they would find more along the way.

When they reached the hill called Nyengele, near Sumbawanga, they again saw the fruit and the elder sister plucked one of them and said, 'I am going to produce the aana kasuku [children of the masuku fruit].'

They continued with their journey, and just before they reached Milansi the younger woman picked up a stone and said, 'I am going to produce the aana kawe [children of the stone].' She then carried the stone on her back.

When they reached Milansi they saw a young man collecting firewood. They called to him quietly and he came to them. They asked him where the Wakumilansi [chief or headman of Milansi] was. The young man took them to Wakumilansi's house, where his wife said that her husband had gone out hunting. The two women were standing there and the wife took out a stool for the elder sister. She refused to sit on it and also refused several others which were offered to her until at last the wife produced Wakumilansi's own stool. She then sat on this stool. The younger sister took the stone from her back and laid it on the ground.

The elder sister said, 'Innsi yane, simbwa malindi' ['This country is mine; let there be no graves'-which I am told is a way of saying, 'Let the people live long'].

When Wakumilansi returned from hunting and saw the new-comers, with one woman sitting on his stool, he was very angry with his wife, and said, 'Now this country is no

longer mine.'

He sent the two women to spend the night with Wakusasa, a man with rank in the village. The next day Wakumilansi told the village people to build two insimba [round huts made of timber and turves] away from the village for the two women. There they lived until one day a party of Nyika hunters came along with an animal they had killed. Seeing the huts, they went and spoke to the two women. Afterwards the women each married one of these Nyika and their children became the royal family of Ufipa.

The foregoing is an incomplete account of what may be called the royalist version of the founding of the Twachi dynasty in Ufipa, as the descendants of these legendary women are called. The oldest account of it we have is that given by Lechaptois (1913). Bishop Lechaptois, one of the first of the White Fathers to settle in Ufipa, had the story from the daughter of the old chief Kapufi. In this version we are told that there were three women, a mother and two daughters, and that they came from an unnamed country to the north of Ufipa. The mother's name was Unda, a word which may be connected with the Fipa inda, stomach or womb, and her daughters were respectively called Mwati and Saa, names which seem to lack esoteric meaning, so far as I have been able to discover.

A yet fuller version of the story was collected by a former district commissioner of Ufipa, J. E. S. Lamb, and recorded in the District Book in 1926. This account follows Lechaptois in saying that the women first appeared in Urungu, at the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, and then went north or north-east into Ufipa. There follows a substantially similar account of the origin of the clan-names kasuku and kawe as was given by my informant. When the women reached Milansi they were received by the wife of the Mwene, who was called Nantalakalika (meaning: 'she who will not be angry'). The Lamb version explains:

The chief had been for some time perturbed because of dreams or divinations in which he had seen that certain light-coloured women would come to his country and attempt to usurp his power. He told his wife Nantalakalika of his fears and told her that if these strangers arrived during his absence she must not allow any of them to sit on his royal stool. 'If you do that', he said, 'the rule of this land will pass to them.'

One day the chief went out to hunt and during his absence the Watwachi arrived at his village. They called for the chief and Nantalakalika, being much agitated at the sight of the strangers, came out to tell them that her husband was not at home.

There followed the episode of the stools as described by Lechaptois and my own informant, and the subsequent return of Mwene Milansi from hunting.

A further important episode occurred next day, when the two women decided that they wished to climb the mountain Itwelele, and invited Mwene Milansi and some of his people to accompany them. They did so. When they reached the summit the chief was asked to point out the extent of his domains.

The poor man suffered from an affliction of which he was very sensitive—a heavy growth of long hairs under the armpits—and, ashamed of exhibiting this to the strange women, endeavoured to point out the boundaries of his country while keeping his elbow pressed

closely to his side. In this way the area indicated by him was comparatively small and confined to the country immediately surrounding Itwelele.

Mwati then replied: 'My domains shall stretch from Lake Tanganyika in the west to Lake Rukwa in the east, and from Malunga Hill [on the Unyamwanga border] in the south to the end of the plateau in the north.'

An old man named Wayesi, one of the elders of Milansi, then spoke out.

'I will divide the country. You, Mwene, will keep Itwelele and the surrounding foothills and will still be Mwene Milansi. The Watwachi shall have all the rest of the country. You will be subject to them but they will protect you. Let there be no quarrelling.'

This is the version of the legend commonly accepted outside Milansi and we see that it consists of two decisive acts:

- 1. The symbolic assumption of chiefly power expressed in Mwati's sitting on the stool of Mwene Milansi.
- 2. The division of the country into areas which reflect the difference in status of the two parties and the differing nature of their power. For it appears, notwithstanding the soothing words of the elder Wayesi quoted earlier, that there is an essential contradiction in the relationship of Mwene Milansi and the Twachi: the contradiction consists in the mutual variability of the terms of this relationship. Thus, on the one hand, the Twachi are recognized as superior (they have taken over the chiefdom in sitting on Mwene Milansi's stool, their territory includes that of the Mwene, who remains to rule over a territorially insignificant enclave in their midst); but on the the other hand, Mwene Milansi continues as the senior chief of Ufipa, with possession of the senior divinity (umwaao or ilesa) of the country, the mountain Itwelele; and although lacking the de facto power that the Twachi chiefdom came to wield in terms of a fairly complex administrative and coercive machine, Milansi remained the ultimate source of chiefly legitimacy in Ufipa: on the death of a Twachi chief his heir went to Milansi to obtain the approval and ritual sanction of the Mwene; and Mwene Milansi is said to have continued, even after the establishment of the Twachi, to claim tribute from all Ufipa; the present Mwene Milansi greeted me with the words, 'I am the mountain [i.e. Itwelele] and the country.' Thus Mwene Milansi became the political inferior of the Twachi who nevertheless recognized, and continued to recognize, him as their ritual superior.2

# THE CHIEF RELENTS

The Milansi version of the coming of the Twachi differs in important respects from the tradition preserved by the Twachi themselves. There were not two, or three, women, but four: two of them were red and two black. They arrived first in Urungu but the chief sent them on to Milansi, saying, 'My country is bad. Go there, to my mother's brother.' In due course they arrived at Milansi and the business with the Mwene's stool occurred; but the Milansi version insists that it was not during the reign of the first Mwene, Ntatakwa, that the strange women arrived, but during the chiefdom of the third Mwene Milansi, Ntaseka, Mtaseka, moreover, so far from

This custom seems to have fallen into disuse since the establishment of European rule in Ufipa towards the end of last century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The present chief of Nkansi, Kapufi II, described the chief of Milansi as 'our priest'.

adopting the compliant attitude of the Twachi version, is said to have been extremely (and, one may think, understandably) angry at seeing this stranger seated on the chiefly stool.

He took out a knife called Nyinachecheine which is preserved at Milansi to this day, with the intention of killing the strange women. Seeing this, they threw themselves at his feet, saying, 'Father, we are mere women, what harm can we do to you? We wish to be made your slaves. We have been expelled from our own home and where shall we go now? And Mwene Urungu has likewise turned us out. We are your slaves, do not send us away.'

The Mwene listened to their entreaty and was moved to pity; he put away the knife and retrieved his stool and sat upon it; he then gave the strangers a hut in the village where they could stay.

Both versions of this story are thus agreed on the centrally significant act: that the strange woman sat on the chiefly stool, thus symbolically assuming the supreme power in the land. But the sequel in the Twachi version to this usurpatory act, the ascent of Itwelele, and the formal division of territorial authority between the two chiefdoms, has no place in the Milansi version, which goes on instead:

When the women had been there for a year there was a great famine in Ufipa. The Mwene set traps on Itwelele and caught animals. One day the women asked if they might climb the mountain with him to collect the trapped game. The Mwene agreed. At the top they saw the village of the Nyika, called Kantindi. The women asked him about it and the Mwene said it was the place of Sikaungu and Nkonje, who regularly brought him honey. [It will be remembered that these two Nyika, Sikaungu and Nkonje, arrived earlier at Milansi and stayed near by as guests of the Mwene.]

The women asked the Mwene to give them a guide to take them to Kantindi village to get honey, to appease their hunger. Once again the Mwene agreed. The women went to Kantindi and the two Nyika, returning from the hunt, found the women there and took two of them as wives. In due course the women became pregnant. They then returned to Mwene Milansi, saying, 'The Nyika have made us pregnant.' The Mwene saw that it was not necessary to have them with him and built them a house at Kilangala, where he sent them with guards.

The story of the marriage of the two Twachi women to Nyika is thus common to both versions of the traditional history. The Twachi say that the woman Mwati bore a son called Unsili Nkolwe (inkolwe, a cock) and that he was in due course formally invested as the first Mwene Fipa (chief of all Ufipa) by Mwene Milansi. The Milansi version gives the name of this son as Ntinda and makes no mention of his investment as chief. But the Twachi recital includes mention of two other people called Ntinda: (1) Ntinda Nkolokombe, the son of Unsili Nkolwe and grandson of Mwati; (2) Ntinda Mwisokile or Kwasinganwa, a great-grandson of Saa, Mwati's sister; and the exploits of both these Ntindas are given in the Milansi account as those of one person; so that this Ntinda of the Milansi version appears to correspond to three actors in the Twachi saga: (1) the son of Mwati, Unsili Nkolwe; (2) the latter's son, Ntinda Nkolokombe; (3) the great-grandson of Saa, Ntinda Mwisokile, or Kwasinganwa, as he is variously called. In this confusing situation it seems more profitable to consider what is reported to have been done, as it is seen and interpreted by the two sides, than to concentrate attention on the precise identity of the doers.

# EXTENSION OF CENTRAL POWER

The Twachi account says that Mwati's son Unsili Nkolwe, after his investment by Mwene Milansi as chief, devoted himself to the subjugation of two minor chiefs, who it would seem had owed some sort of allegiance to Mwene Milansi. First he defeated and killed Suswa, who ruled Mkwamba to the north of Milansi. He then turned his attention to another chieflet called Kalitolo, whose village lay about thirty miles to the west of Milansi.

Both versions agree on the story of how Kalitolo was overcome. Unsili/Ntinda made one or two unsuccessful attempts to storm Nkana, the village of Kalitolo, but each time it appeared, from the vigour of the defence, that Kalitolo had somehow been forewarned of the attack. Unsili/Ntinda therefore changed his tactics and sent his cousin Mwati (daughter of the second Twachi woman, who also married an Nyika) to Kalitolo's village as a spy.

Mwati was a very beautiful girl and Kalitolo instantly fell in love with her. He told her that he owed his security from surprise attack to a certain bull which would low whenever hostile forces approached the village and to a cock which likewise crowed to warn the inhabitants of impending danger. Mwati then secretly purloined the medicine which gave the bull and the cock their magical powers. In due course Unsili/Ntinda attacked and overwhelmed the unprepared defenders, who had no warning of the assault. Mwati then pointed out Kalitolo to her brother, who killed him.

This story has given rise to a common Fipa saying indicative of masculine distrust of Women, *Aanachi yalile Kalitolo* ['Women were the death of Kalitolo'].

Some time later it became necessary to deal with another chieflet called Nkulu who was established in the Rukwa valley. According to the Twachi tradition the campaign against him was undertaken by one Ntinda Mwisokile or Ntinda Kwasinganwa, the great-grandson of Saa, the second and younger of the two Twachi sister immigrants into Ufipa. This campaign against Nkulu, like the earlier one against Kalitolo, was a protracted one. Nkulu was driven from Ng'ongo village to Ukia village, but managed to evade capture until Ntinda discovered from a prisoner that Nkulu had the ability to transform himself into material objects. A certain mortar (ichina) was pointed out to Ntinda and he ordered it to be cut in half. Blood gushed from the wood and the voice of Nkulu was heard saying that he would be the last chief of the Rukwa; henceforth the valley people would be ruled from the Fipa plateau. What had been the head of Nkulu rolled away into a grove and became a huge python which has since been worshipped as a god (umwaao). Like many other python gods in various parts of Ufipa it has moved from its original home with the spread of Christianity, and I was told that it now lives somewhere in the thick bush to the south, where it feels safe from the attacks of Christian converts, who earlier made several unsuccessful attempts to kill it.

These latter events, the subjugation of Kalitolo and Nkulu, appear in both Milansi and Twachi traditions, but are interpreted in quite a different light in the two accounts. According to the Twachi history, the defeat of the two chieflets occurs as a logical sequel to the recognition by Mwene Milansi of the Twachi as the new rulers of Ufipa: they are merely asserting a territorial authority which has already been granted to them in the demarcation made at the summit of Itwelele mountain.

But Milansi (whose traditional history contains no mention of the alleged Itwelele demarcation) treats Kalitolo and Nkulu as sons and subordinates of Mwene Milansi who revolted against their father and chief and tried to carve out dominions for themselves. The rebellions were put down by Ntinda, who is said to have lived with Mwene Milansi since he was three years old and been virtually adopted into his family; Ntinda was assisted by the other, real, sons of Mwene Milansi. It appears that there was little love between Ntinda and his adoptive brothers, as in this account of the war against Nkulu:

Nkulu now revolted in the Rukwa, and the Mwene [Milansi] sent the brothers against him. He was driven from one village but built another. A further expedition was sent. The brothers said to Ntinda, 'It is not our business to cut off the head of Nkulu, our brother'. They went off on their own and later saw Ntinda with the head of Nkulu. They said to him: 'It is because you are not of our father's blood. So you could also cut off our heads.'

When the Mwene heard that Ntinda was coming with Nkulu's head he sent a message that his son's head should not be brought to Milansi, but should be cast into the Luiche river, about four miles away. This Ntinda did, hearing the message when he reached Kantalamba, on the bank of the river.

When Ntinda returned to Milansi the Mwene asked him: 'Who told you to cut off the head of my son? You are a bad child. Go! You are the blood of Sikaungu and Nkonje [the Nyika]. Therefore take your mother and go to the Nyika who begat you. 'Thereupon Ntinda and his mother left Milansi. They slept that night at Kanda and the following day reached Kantindi, where they stayed with the Nyika.

### THE CHIEFDOM DIVIDES

It is evident that Mwene Milansi still takes a proprietorial interest in events in Ufipa, even though real power beyond his own village is in the hands of the Twachi, whose chief he nevertheless treats for a long time as his 'son'. The same proprietorial and paternal attitude appears in the Mwene's reaction to the Twachi split which resulted in the establishment of the secessionist chiefdom of Lyangalile in southern Ufipa.

According to the Twachi history, the split began when the old chief Sumba Mwanamsia, a younger son of Mwati who had succeeded Ntinda Nkolokombe, came to nominate his successor. The choice lay between two maternal nephews, grandsons of Saa, Mwati's sister, and the sons respectively of his sisters Mwati and Unda. After submitting both to a number of aptitude tests, the old chief decided that the younger nephew, Nandi, was the more suitable candidate. But Mwati, mother of the elder nephew, Sangu, would not agree to this passing over of her son and, fearing for his life, Nandi retired to another village at some distance from the royal capital. Soon afterwards Sumba died and Mwati succeeded in having Sangu installed as chief. Sangu then sent word to Nandi, inviting him to return to the royal village. Nandi suspected that if he accepted the invitation he would be put to death by Sangu, so he sent a message that he was too sick to go. He then killed a calf and allowed the hide to rot. A few days later, hearing that messengers were on their way to him from Sangu, he dressed in the putrid skin and lay down in his hut. The messengers came and perceived the stink and went back to Sangu with the news that Nandi was near to death.

Having thus thrown his cousin off his guard, Nandi went with his followers to Mwene Urungu and obtained additional forces from him. He then attacked and decisively defeated Sangu, who managed to escape and fled with his mother Mwati to southern Ufipa, where he founded the chiefdom of Lyangalile. His cousin Nandi remained head of the northern chiefdom, which from then onwards was known as Nkansi. The origin of these two names is obscure. One informant told me that at the beginning of the fighting between Nandi and Sangu the warriors on both sides were reluctant to throw spears at one another but used only arrows, indicating that they were not yet fighting to the death; but as the dispute became more inflamed spears were resorted to on both sides, giving rise to the sayings:

Umonsi alunyepa chikansi (' the man frowningly grips a spear '), chikansi being the name for the furrowing which appears on his forehead in the anger and effort of throwing; and hence the name Nkansi; and

Isumo lya monsi likuluangalala (' the man's spear must be sharp '), angalala, to be sharp, and hence the name Lyangalile.

The story of the split as told in the Milansi tradition is substantially the same as the Twachi version, except that the Mwene Milansi makes some confusion for the amateur historian by referring to Sangu as Nandi and to Nandi as Kampamba; however, in the Twachi account it appears that Sangu was also sometimes known as Nandi, and to have several names is usual among the Fipa and especially so of a chief. But for the sake of clarity I retain the Twachi names for the rival cousins in the following version of events as recounted by Mwene Milansi:

Nandi stayed a year with Mwene Urungu and then went with a force to attack his brother Sangu. When Sangu saw that he was being beaten he took a whole lot of the young men and women and put them in a house to which he set fire, killing them all. He himself escaped, going through Rukwa, Rungwa, Konongo, and then on to Ubungu, where he was received by Mwene Kilanya. The Mwene gave him soldiers to go and fight with his brother [i.e. cousin] Nandi.

Mwene Milansi had a dream in which he saw Sangu coming with many men; and he thought he must avert the destruction threatening his country. So he called his son Mkali and gave him a white cowskin, so that Sangu might see him afar off.

Mkali put on the white cowskin and went and sat on the hill called Mtumba. Every day at sunrise he stood up so that he might be visible from the Konongo side. When Sangu came down he found the waters of Lake Rukwa in his way and did not know where he could pass. When morning came he saw afar off a white cowskin on Mtumba mountain, and said, 'Without doubt it is my father Mwene Milansi who is waiting over there.' Saying this, he took a staff and smote on the waters, which parted and allowed him to cross with his army. When he arrived on the other side he met Mkali, who said, 'Where are you going with these men?' Sangu replied, 'I am going to fight with my brother Nandi.' Mkali said: 'Mwene Milansi forbids it. You are children of one father. Go and live over there at Chalaminwe,' Sangu agreed. For a year he stayed at Mtumba with his soldiers, then he went to Chalaminwe, now called Mpui, and capital of Lyangalile.

(A similar episode, telling of a man dividing the waters of Lake Rukwa after seeing a signal from the further shore, appears in the Twachi history, where the protagonist is said to have been one Ndasi Taulaulambo, father of Sangu.)

# RITUAL VERSUS POLITICAL SUPREMACY

We have now followed the two streams of tradition sufficiently far to establish that each is expressing a distinct attitude or 'line' towards the putative events which form their common concern; before considering briefly the implications of this fact it is perhaps opportune to retrace our steps momentarily and try to assess the measure of historical validity to be accorded to the central act in the Fipa drama, the appearance of the strange women from the north. My own guess (and it cannot be more than a guess) is that the story of Unda, Mwati, and Saa is the myth-image of a real event which occurred between 100 and 200 years ago—the incursion into Ufipa of an alien people who may well have been Tutsi (as most Fipa, including the Twachi themselves) believe, and who gained power through a bent for political organization exceeding that of the indigenous people. The improbable women travellers I surmise to have been invented to serve the needs of the Fipa descent system, which traces clan affiliation to a female (the father's mother); hence the founder of a new and ruling clan must be a woman.

The name 'Twachi', by which the immigrants (if such they were) are known, does not, I think, tell us very much. Atwachi is strictly speaking reserved for women members of the royal family; males are called atwa. The word may be connected with the Fipa (and common Bantu) verb kutwala, to take or conduct, and varieties of it appear in many Bantu societies in this part of the world, usually associated with authority; for example, the sons of Hehe chiefs, according to Wilson, are called abatwa, and so are chiefs or sub-chiefs among the Kinga and Nyakyusa; there is also mutware, a sub-chief in Ruanda, and ntwale, a Sukuma regional headman; and there must be many other examples.

Fipa history may thus be considered as one more variant of the common theme in many East African societies of indigenous acquiescence before (even sometimes, as among the Alur, active welcoming of) a better-organized or in some way more prestigious outside authority, with representatives of the autochthons retaining some kind of ritual role in the more complex society thus created. There are obvious analogies to the Fipa situation in Ankole, where the politically inferior Iru act as ritual experts at the Mugabe's court; and in Ruanda, where the so-called Biru-kings, the guardians of royal tradition, ruled small enclaves within the country and would seem to have been in a position not unlike that of Mwene Milansi. (In this context it seems relevant to mention that the present Mwene Milansi is a magician-doctor (sing'anga) and an ironsmith (silungu), both occupations requiring an extensive knowledge of magical techniques; he is also a priest (intambikwa).)

There is an important difference, however, between Iru and Biru on the one hand and the chief of Milansi on the other: the former are, or were, incorporated in the centralized Nkole and Nyaruanda states; Mwene Milansi, as we have seen, remains independent, guardian of his own tradition rather than that of a royal master. If we now ask why this should be, the answer, I think, must be found in the nucleated social grouping of the Fipa, who lived in widely separated, strongly fortified villages (they still live in such groups, though without the fortifications). In Ufipa each nonroyal village resembled a miniature state, electing its own chief or headman (mwene nsi). This fact must have limited the degree of political centralization which it was

possible to achieve, or impose. One of the results of this situation was the peculiar relationship of the Milansi and Twachi chiefships—each in fact virtually independent of the other—while on the one side a ritual supremacy, on the other a political dominion, was asserted in theory over the other.

Fipa traditional history thus falls into a pattern familiar from our knowledge of other societies and histories within the region and outside it; but the accident of social organization within the area has provided us with the unusual chance of comparing two separate bodies of tradition representing the political/administrative and the ritual elements in Fipa society. From this comparison it is possible, by cross-checking, to establish at least a higher degree of authenticity for the 'events' common to both; and, no less important, by comparing their disagreements we may hope to reach a fuller understanding of the relation between these two opposed but complementary elements in the social structure.

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#### Résumé

# HISTOIRE TRADITIONNELLE ET STRUCTURE SOCIALE A UFIPA

LES Fipa sont un peuple de langue bantoue qui occupent le haut plateau situé entre l'extrémité sud du lac Tanganyika et le lac Rukwa, au sud-ouest du Tanganyika. Le dernier recensement tribal de 1948 en comptait 78.000. Agriculteurs et éleveurs, ils vivent dans des villages situés à une grande distance les uns des autres. Leur système politique traditionnel comprenait un chef ou roi choisi dans une famille régnante, qui était à la tête d'une hiérarchie de fonctionnaires non héréditaires. Ufipa était divisé en deux royaumes, dirigés par des familles apparentées.

Les deux sources distinctes de l'histoire traditionnelle des Fipa traitent largement des mêmes séries d'évènements ou supposés tels. La plus ancienne émane du chef rituel de tout le royaume, Mwene Milansi; la seconde, de la lignée principale qui depuis longtemps revendique la suprématie politique du pays, tout en reconnaissant la souveraineté religieuse de Milansi, qui constitue une sorte d'enclave à l'intérieur du royaume Fipa de Nkansi.

L'origine de la tradition, selon Milansi, remonte à l'apparition dans le pays d'Ufipa d'un homme appelé Ntatakwa qui serait venu d'un pays du sud-ouest, Mwelu Wantipa, vaguement localisé dans l'actuelle Rhodésie du Nord. Il fonda le village de Milansi au centre d'Ufipa et s'institua chef de tout le pays. Les deux traditions historiques rapportent l'arrivée à Milansi, peu de temps après, d'un groupe de femmes venues du nord. Leur chef obligea la femme de Mwene Milansi à lui remettre le tabouret royal du chef, symbole de son

# TRADITIONAL HISTORY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN UFIPA

autorité, malgré un avertissement de son mari, qui avait appris en rêve que ce serait un désastre.

Les deux sources s'accordent pour relater comment les usurpatrices contractèrent des alliances avec les Nyika, tribu de chasseurs immigrés, et eurent des descendants qui, en s'alliant, fondèrent la lignée royale Twachi d'Ufipa. Puis les Twachi soumirent trois chefs qui, auparavant, devaient obéissance à Mwene Milansi; la tradition de Milansi représente ces évènements comme le rétablissement, avec l'aide des Twachi, de l'autorité de Mwene Milansi sur ses sujets rebelles. Dans la querelle entre les Twachi qui se termina par le partage du royaume d'Ufipa en deux royaumes ennemis, la tradition montre Mwene Milansi comme le 'père' du pays, soucieux d'empêcher les conflits entre ses 'enfants' adoptifs Twachi.

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# BEHAVIOUR AND CULTURAL VALUE IN WEST AFRICAN STORIES: LITERARY SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF CULTURE CONTACT

# AUSTIN J. SHELTON

IN much modern West African literature in English and French the authors depict I problems concerning the relationship between the socio-cultural background and the particular experiences and behaviour of the characters portrayed. Investigation and analysis of such stories to ascertain the authors' 'solutions' of the characters' problems can aid our understanding of values and attitudes among modern Africans and in turn contribute to the growing corpus of knowledge about culture contact. As Cyprian Ekwensi, the Nigerian novelist, has claimed: 'African writing is writing which reveals the psychology of the African.' Obviously it reveals the psychology of both the author and the characters whom he portrays, and even though stories are written by individuals who are 'modern' Africans, strong opposition to any consideration of African literature as individualistic 'art for art's sake 'has been manifested by Africans, including the Society of Nigerian Authors in their reply to Martin Tucker's 1962 argument that African novelists are over-communal and insufficiently individualistic in what they portray.2 In making such a response, the Nigerian authors in effect reasserted a traditional African attitude towards art as socially functional rather than merely aesthetically pleasing. One is thus justified in pursuing the study of modern literary works by Africans as expressions of attitudes and values related to tradition, contact, and change.

# THE LITERATURE AND VALUES

In this introductory study I shall survey briefly four works of West African literature to suggest the value bases possibly sanctioned by the authors or suggested as typical of the Africans depicted. The particular works are the following: Le Regard du roi (1954), by Camara Laye, Wand of Noble Wood (1961), by Onuora Nzekwu, No Longer at Ease (1960), by Chinua Achebe, and Wole Soyinka's The Lion and the Jewel (1963).

Camara Laye's novel, Le Regard du roi, tells the story of Clarence, a destitute white man who has been ejected from his hotel and, without money, is forced to seek help from the tribal Africans. The setting, a re-created traditional African society, imposes its sanctions upon Clarence, and the problem it poses is that Clarence, a white European whose original social conditioning had been French, must now adapt to African

Cyprian Ekwensi, 'Problems of Nigerian Writers', Nigeria Magazine, no. 78, Sept. 1963, pp. 217–19.

<sup>3</sup> Camara Laye, Le Regard du roi, Paris: Librairie Plon, 1954.

4 Onuora Nzekwu, Wand of Noble Wood, London: Hutchinson, 1961.

<sup>5</sup> Chinua Achebe, No Longer at Ease, London: Heinemann, 1960.

<sup>6</sup> Wole Soyinka, The Lion and the Jewel, London: Oxford University Press, 1963.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> M. Tucker, 'The Headline Novels of Africa', West Africa, no. 2356, 28 July 1962, p. 829. Consult also Ekwensi's reply—'The Headline Novels of Africa', West Africa, no. 2360, 28 August 1962, p. 941.

ways. In his attempt to gain an audience with the king, from whom he hopes to receive employment, Clarence falls in with an old beggar and two dancing-boys, Noaga and Nagoa. The four of them move to the south where Clarence, insisting that he must 'find his place' in the world, is sold by the beggar to the Naba of Aziana. He is then used, without his knowledge of the purpose, as a stud animal for the breeding of light-coloured children among the Naba's many wives. After having discovered his own sinfulness and losing his colour-consciousness, false pride, and other faults, Clarence is accepted by the king.

The story is built upon a complex set of interrelated premisses which emanate from the general theme: all values which are considered by white men to be 'important' must be rejected and replaced by African values before the white man can find salvation. The 'false' values held by Clarence because of his European conditioning are the following: (1) being a white man is important, pp. 12, 19; (2) rights exist independently of means to effect them, pp. 15, 28; (3) time is important, pp. 24-25, 136; (4) sacrifice of the innocent and pure is wrong, and the implicit corollary that only the wicked should be sacrificed, pp. 30-31; (5) any sort of work is good, because only economic criteria can determine the value of work, pp. 36-37, 54-55; (6) it is good to demand one's rights, p. 81; (7) truth exists merely in what one perceives of the surfaces of things and actions, p. 113; (8) over-emphasis upon sex, the symbol of animal rather than spiritual values: Part Two and passim.

These false values are 'corrected' through Clarence's acculturation, particularly when he is in Aziana. He learns that (1) skin colour or race is unimportant for human beings, that it is not a reason in itself for judging a person's supremacy, and that without loss of wrong colour-consciousness one cannot become 'pure' and thereby worthy of salvation (pp. 152, 153). Means actually validate one's possession of 'rights' (2), such as one's right to freedom, as Clarence learns during the development of more complete awareness of his condition in Part One, and especially when he realizes to what use he has been put by the Naba in Part Two and following. This is related to the African valuation of specialization in work (5), which ironically Clarence learns when he realizes that his only specialty is to breed (pp. 151, 160, 164, 180, 193, 239). It is related also to the fact that rights which one possesses (6) are not to be demanded, because one asks only for that which one does not deserve (p. 81). Clarence's over-valuation of sex, too, is shown throughout to be a Europeanism which must be relegated to a lower place in the scheme of things, even though it is this which has led him to his particular function as a slave of the Naba (pp. 149-50, 160). Throughout the latter part of the story, the notion that one can act according to the accidental features of things (7) is shown to be entirely false (pp. 160, 208-9). Clarence at first loses his sense of shame over lust (pp. 151, 209) and nakedness (p. 152), until he thinks of the king and develops more profound awareness of his own unworthiness (pp. 226-7); his preliminary moment of truth is when the Master of Ceremonies forces him to understand that he has been no more than un coq and has indeed been a slave (pp. 239, 241). But even this becomes unimportant, for Clarence has a false notion of his 'worthiness' in the eyes of the king (p. 248), to whom everyone is unworthy, regardless of appearances.

In Wand of Noble Wood Nzekwu tells a story involving a similar set of values, although he stresses the problems resulting from the relationships between the 'new'

and acculturated African influenced by alien socio-cultural forces and the 'old' or traditionalistic African social setting, whereas Laye's comparison was between the 'false' values of the white Clarence and the 'true' values of African humanity to which Clarence became acculturated.

Peter Obiesie is a young Ibo journalist, adapted to the Europeanized city of Lagos, where he has a good job and a pregnant girl friend whom he does not intend to marry. Under the pressure of relatives, he agrees to return to his village and select a wife so that he can carry on his family's lineage, and after a search he meets and decides upon Nneka, who is also sought after by Ikem Ono. Nneka suffers the curse of *iyi ocha* because of some woman's antagonism toward Nneka's mother years before. Following customary ritual, Pete and his family have the curse lifted, and arrangements are made for the marriage. Pete therefore returns to Lagos, but before Nneka can join him there he receives word of her death. He returns hurriedly to the village and discovers (1) that Ikem Ono had tampered with the sacred *iyi ocha* bundle, thus rendering ineffective the lifting of the curse, and (2) that Nneka had apparently been an *ogbanje* or trickster spirit, for her 'suicide' was effected in such a manner that medical doctors could discover no cause of death.

The conceptual (and social) setting of this story is twofold: the village, which exerts the pressures of its belief system upon Pete (and had done so before he went away to Lagos and became acculturated), and the Europeanized city with its social and psychological forces which work with steadily diminishing effect upon him. The point which Nzekwu constantly suggests in this story—and in the plethora of ethnographic descriptions of Onitsha Ibo culture—is that most values for Africans lie in that which is traditionally sanctioned. Pete himself is little better than a sponge, passive in the face of Ibo religion and other social pressures. He seeks hopefully to satisfy his individualistic desires, even in his choice of Nneka, whom he should have distrusted at the beginning because of the curse upon her, but he is forced back by the mysterious powers that be and is compelled to conform. Although he does not succeed in his attempt to satisfy himself, he will have emerged from the experience a far wiser if sadder man who will for ever respect the traditionally sanctioned values of his people. The novel concerns values, then, which resemble those stressed in Le Regard du roi, because what caused Pete Obiesie to become individualistic (if only slightly) was his having become separated from his people's traditions, and what brought truth back to him was his renewed contact with his traditional society.

Chinua Achebe's novel No Longer at Ease portrays more decidedly than Wand of Noble Wood the conflicts faced by the intelligent and learned young African who is caught between the conflicting value systems of the traditional African village and the Europeanized city. The title itself indicates this: the acculturated African can no longer relax in the ease of social sanctions which were clearly understood by all, for through having changed he has also adopted—whether he likes it or not—the shifting values and uncertain rewards of modern society.

It is the story of Obiajulu Okonkwo, a native of Umuofia in Iboland of Eastern Nigeria, whose people taxed themselves heavily to raise enough money to send him to England to study law. But in England, and motivated by self-interest, Obi changed course to study English literature. Upon his return he obtains a senior service post in Lagos, and begins his affair with Clara, an osu, a member of a religious-slave caste

among the Ibo. This relationship is in clear violation of customary sanctions, and is of course bitterly opposed by his people. Obi faces the problems of (1) finding sufficient money to repay his debt to his people and to live at the 'senior service' level, (2) justifying his individualistic violation of custom (his affair with Clara), and (3) maintaining himself inviolate against the temptations of bribe-taking, one of the negative results of the Euro-African city culture, which is the social context of this story. A crisis develops through Clara's pregnancy with his child when he has no money, and his ideals are thus put to a brutally practical test, which he fails. He offends traditional values further by procuring an abortion for her (pp. 145-6), after which she is seriously ill; apparently certain that he does not want such a union, which would be to some extent symbolized by their baby, she refuses to see him. After a few attempts to contact her, he accepts the break (thereby satisfying traditional values), but begins to accept bribes (a phenomenon of the newer city culture, unsanctioned either by traditional custom or European ethics) to meet his financial obligations (required by traditionally sanctioned honour), and he is finally caught and indicted.

What brought about his downfall, essentially, was his individualistic behaviour when he was caught in a conflict of his conditioned values. He had been conditioned by traditional cultural values in his home village, but because of his higher education he had encountered and acquired certain European values and expectations of reward for changing, or for adopting those new values, and because of his European education he obtained a position in Lagos where he learned about, but did not at first accept, the relatively new bribe system euphemistically called 'dash' or 'kola'.1 It is obvious from the story that Obi had fallen into a series of events which would test his faithfulness to his traditions and that he failed; but he failed not because the traditions were faulty, but because he had changed and was viewing them from a different standpoint, that of Europe or of the outsider. However slight his adopted Europeanism, it was an alluring siren, promising extended pleasures for little more than individualism. Clara was the first apparent reward, giving him pleasure and validating his liberal individualism, but at the expense of social responsibility to which he had been earlier conditioned. So even though he forsook her, instead of throwing aside false pride and pleading his case before the Umuofia Progressive Union, he attempted a criminal expedient and was arrested as a bribe-taker.

Wole Soyinka's fine play, The Lion and the Jewel, like the other works surveyed, demonstrates the general conflicts of value systems and portrays the stronger values of traditional common sense as opposed to the rather foolish notions of the Europeanized. The story is relatively simple. Set in a traditional Yoruba village, it has a basic triangle plot involving the 'Lion of Ilujinle', Baroka, and the Christianized schoolteacher, Lakunle, in their contrasting bids for marriage with the lovely girl, Sidi, the 'Jewel'. Baroka is a traditionalist with four wives, Lakunle a modernist, and Sidi simply a village belle who is at first interested in Lakunle's 'gentlemanly' Europeanism, but later succumbs to the shrewdly realistic wiles of Baroka, whose ideals are more satisfying and more strongly sanctioned in Ilujinle than the changes advocated by 'Teacher'. In the last act, Sidi casts off Lakunle with the words, 'Out

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'New' here refers to the modern system of actual bribery as distinct from the ancient kola system or the 'dash' payment to middlemen during the days of the slave trade in Africa.

of my way, book-nourished shrimp! Do you see what strength he has given me? '(p. 63), thus indicating that, although Baroka is sixty years old, because of his pragmatic common sense about young women and their desires he is a better man than the younger product of the Europeans, Lakunle. Lakunle possessed individualistic ideals, like those of Obi Okonkwo, and he extended these to Sidi, treating her accordingly; he failed to face the fact that what a young African woman really wants is to 'prove' her raison d'être through child-bearing. Unfortunately for him the Lion knows, so he wins the Jewel.

These four literary works, exemplars of much modern West African prose literature, illustrate two broad matters: (1) The African writers' norm-systems by which, through literary portrayal, they stress the communal and other values of the traditional society, and depict the failings of individualism. (2) The importance of the African's training which preceded contact, education, and acculturation, and the situation of change which has different meanings and values depending upon one's social perspective and conceptual system. For the African, change to the white man's way is 'wrong' even if necessary, but return to the African way is 'right'; and for the European, exemplified by Clarence in Le Regard du roi, the maintenance of European ways in an African context is 'wrong' and adaptation to the African way is 'right'. The African writer sees social change in part as change from cultural wholeness to fragmentation and disorientation of the individual, who can regain 'wholeness' of self and proper orientation to behaviour as well as obtain the deserved rewards only through his maintenance of traditions or a return to the traditionally sanctioned behaviour.

#### VALUES AND CHANGE

In Laye's work we see the African writer 'turning the tables' as a method of demonstrating his value system. Clarence's individualism is shattered by his need to adopt African ways, and with his individualism go all the various 'false' values resulting from his Europeanism. Before the opening events of Le Regard du roi, Clarence differed greatly from the tribal Africans, and was the type (suggested as universally the case of Europeans vis-à-vis Africans) who emphasized his difference because of his circumstances (living in European society with its presumed sanction of white supremacy) and because of his stress on personal individualism. But once he is without money or friends, thrust upon village society, the meaning of his existence must change because the social reality, the context, has changed. So the story traces the alterations in his values until he gains acceptance by the African king.

As Mannheim argued in 1926, any cultural object loses its self-contained individuality and reveals that it is functionally dependent on a more comprehensive totality when viewed from without. This is precisely what one observes in studying literature in general, and is analogously the case of Clarence and of Obi Okonkwo in No Longer at Ease, although a thing or person does not accordingly become a product of meaningless forces (as at first glance appears to be the case in Wand of Noble Wood) but of meaningful socio-cultural sanctions. In Clarence's acculturation to Africanism

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Karl Mannheim, 'Ideological and Sociological Interpretation of Cultural Objects', in G. Salomon (ed.), International Yearbook of Sociology, i, 1926.

Quoted by P. Kecskemeti (ed.), Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge by Karl Mannheim. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952, p. 19.

(required for his very survival) he becomes the product of the value system of the Africans, and his previous European values—especially his individualism—are useless in the different situation and must therefore be discarded or suppressed.

Although this is certainly the situation of Le Regard du roi, it is not identically so in the other three works, for they concern Africans becoming acculturated to Europeanism. In Laye's work no insurmountable social situation exists to limit the rewards for Clarence's adaptation to conditions; but in the other works the African lead characters, having partly adapted, are not permitted fully enough to exercise their new abilities or to receive adequately their anticipated rewards. Despite the fact that it is becoming a cliché it is nevertheless true that in these cases the characters are men 'caught between two worlds'—especially between conflicting systems which socially determine much meaning and value in their lives.

The value system, nevertheless, is essentially the same in the works of these four writers: what is traditionally African is approved because rewards generally follow the performance of the understood and sanctioned behaviour. This is most definitely the case with Clarence, it underlies the situation faced by Obi and Lakunle, and it is equally true of Pete Obiesie, although at a superficial glance it seems that traditional Africa had 'hurt' him—he was actually 'hurt' only because he did not properly gauge the profundity of African mystery, and was accordingly tricked by a trickster spirit, the ogbanje Nneka.

The value most clearly approved in these four works is traditional communal responsibility, revealed partly in the condemnation of self-seeking individualism. Communal responsibility (to the extended family, the clan, the 'gods') is sanctioned by traditional African societies and furnishes the criteria whereby one can make judgements which will be correct and perform actions which will be justly rewarded. As a value-system it is preferred to European individualism. The problems of the characters hinge upon this, for when the African becomes acculturated he either loses a number of his communal values and substitutes for them European individualism, or adds the individualism on to his communalism. But adaptation to the European way can be disappointing, for such change often does not carry with it all the rewards anticipated by the African.

When Clarence became acculturated to Africanism, on the other hand, he was rewarded fully according to his merits, after he had forsaken his manifest individualism. His is a relatively simple case. So is Lakunle's: he failed to obtain the 'jewel' because she had sense enough to succumb to the traditionalist Baroka, who received full reward for his support of communal values. Pete Obiesie failed to receive his anticipated reward, Nneka—chosen and demanded by his individualism, despite ominous signs that she might be a deviant of some sort—because the individualism itself guided him wrongly, causing him to select her on the basis of his European-influenced notions of love and beauty. The fourth case, Obi Okonkwo, illustrates failure because he could not or would not revert to the traditional. Barnett has correctly said that

If disaffected individuals are denied the new satisfactions that they have learned to want by alien teachings and associations and are compelled to revert to those from which they have become estranged, they make good candidates for other new proposals which offer them escapes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> H. G. Barnett, Innovation, the Basis of Cultural Change, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953, p. 391.

Obi refused to return to traditionalism: pride kept him from it. So he adopted the bribe-system, thinking it would solve his problems. It did: in prison he would not have to worry about falling in love with osu or fighting a losing battle, for he would be forced to conform.

#### Conclusion

In this paper I have analysed only four of the many West African literary works now available, and therefore wish to emphasize the non-statistical nature of this introductory study. What these writers stress is not simply the case of Africans being caught between two cultures, but the deleterious effects of changing contexts which lure one into unrewarding individualism, and the positive values of African communalism and African traditions in general. Modern West African literature is thus an important repository of numerous values in changing West African societies, as these are viewed by the individual African authors. By extending this sort of study of other works one can gain fuller understanding not only of African literature itself, but of African personality—the African psychology to which Ekwensi refers—and of African value systems as they are perceived by the educated African.

# Résumé

# CONDUITE ET VALEUR CULTURELLE DANS QUELQUES HISTOIRES OUEST-AFRICAINES: SOURCES LITTÉRAIRES POUR L'ÉTUDE DE L'ACCULTURATION

La littérature moderne ouest-africaine des langues véhiculaires (anglaises et françaises) jusqu'ici a été inaperçue par les anthropologistes; néanmoins elle est une source très importante de lumière sur le sujet des effets de l'acculturation, révélant de nombreux attitudes et des valeurs de l'élite africaine à l'égard des traditions, des contacts culturels, et des changements. Les œuvres les plus importantes de Camara Laye, Onuora Nzekwu, Chinua Achebe et Wole Soyinka démontrent la valeur sociale chez les écrivains africains et accentuent l'unité commune de la société traditionnelle, les imperfections de l'individualisme et l'importance de l'éducation avant l'acculturation. L'écrivain africain croit que le résultat du changement social est la perte de l'intégrité culturelle, et qu'on ne regagne pas cette intégrité ni ne reçoit sa récompense qu'en gardant ses traditions.

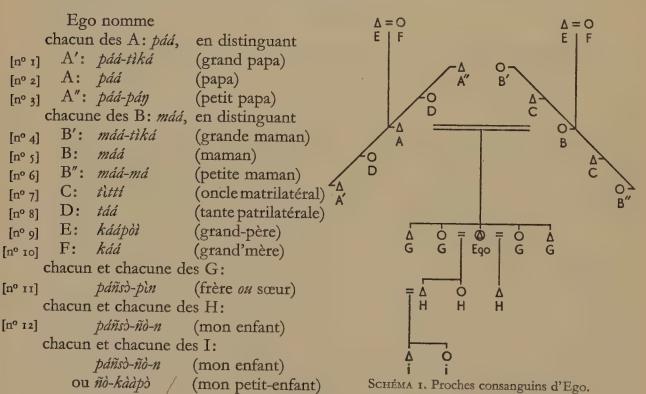
Ce qui est traditionnellement africain s'estime de grande valeur parce que ses récompenses s'attachent à la conduite particulière de la société. La valeur le plus fortement accentuée par les quatre auteurs cités, dans les œuvres traitées, c'est la responsabilité traditionnelle accordée à la famille, au clan, et aux esprits, par opposition à l'individualisme européen, lequel l'Africain trouve insuffisant, n'ayant pas reçu les récompenses anticipées. La littérature moderne de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, par conséquent, est une source très importante dans la recherche des valeurs des sociétés africaines en cours de changement, lesquelles sont particulièrement soulignées par les écrivains indigènes.

# STRUCTURE DE LA PARENTÉ CHEZ LES GOULA IRO<sup>1</sup>

# CLAUDE A. PAIRAULT

L'ÉTUDE d'un système familial postule l'inventaire et l'analyse des termes par lesquels les personnes apparentées s'appellent ou se désignent. Une investigation de cet ordre engage l'ethnographe (et son lecteur) sur des chemins arides, mais elle a chance d'aboutir aux distinctions pertinentes qu'une société donnée met en œuvre dans son mode de vie familiale. Notre propos se limite ici à rechercher de telles distinctions dans le cadre de Boum Kabir, village tchadien habité par 900 Goula Iro.

Du schéma I se dégagent les termes fondamentaux de la consanguinité. A une exception facultative près (qui sera bientôt commentée), ils demeurent inchangés quel que soit le sexe d'Ego. Dans chaque génération représentée sur schéma, nous supposons les aînés situés à gauche des cadets.



r Cet article est extrait d'une monographie (à paraître) concernant le village de Boum Kabir. Le groupe des Goula Iro, auquel Boum Kabir tient lieu de capitale, compte environ 2.500 personnes, établies dans plusieurs agglomérations voisines du lac Iro (sud-est de la République du Tchad).

Les termes de parenté sont cités dans la langue vernaculaire, le kùláál, et phonologiquement orthographiés. La répétition d'un même symbole vocalique représente une voyelle longue. L'accent aigu indique un ton haut; l'accent grave, un ton bas.

La documentation a été recueillie sur le terrain entre 1959 et 1963, lors de plusieurs missions accordées à l'auteur par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris), dans le cadre de l'Institut National Tchadien pour les Sciences Humaines (Fort-Lamy).

Par rapport à Ego, la terminologie enregistre une répartition équilibrée des ascendants, directs et collatéraux, classés en deux générations:

celle des káápòì et káá (aïeul, aïeule), groupant tous les ancêtres à partir des grands-

parents,

celle des père, mère, oncles, tantes. Ici, páá et máá équivalent bien à 'papa' et 'maman', car il s'agit d'appellations employées par Ego, auxquelles correspondent respectivement les désignations  $t\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}-\grave{a}$  (son père),  $\grave{\epsilon}\acute{\epsilon}-k\acute{\iota}-p\acute{\epsilon}$  (sa mère).

Chaque descendant, quels que soient la génération et le sexe, se range sous un même vocable: páñsò-ñò-n (enfant-de-moi).

Le terme páñsò-pin résorbe la relation de fraternité dans celle de filiation commune, conçue comme privilège exclusif:

páñsò (où l'on reconnaît la présence du qualifiant páo, 'petit') désigne l' 'enfant'. -pin est un déterminatif personnel de première personne plurielle exclusive (c'està-dire 'notre', à l'exclusion de 'votre' ou/et de 'leur').

Le syntagme nominal páñsòpin signifie 'enfant de nous', au sens de la détermination admise dans l'expression française 'pauvre de nous!'. Le mot se scinde éventuellement en páñsò-páá-n et páñsò-máá-n, si doit être précisée la modalité 'paternelle' ou 'maternelle' de la filiation. Il peut s'effacer devant une autre terminologie, par laquelle les intéressés — en spécifiant leur fraternité — se situent l'un par rapport à l'autre selon le sexe et l'âge:

Ego masculin dit (a) ñò-mènèè-á (mon germain), 'mon frère',

(b) ñò-mènèè-á (mon germain féminin), 'ma sœur',

Ego féminin dit (a) no-mènèè-á (mon germain), 'ma sœur',

(b) no-mènèè-pé (mon germain masculin), 'mon frère'.

Suivies de tìká, ces dénominations précisent l'aînesse, par exemple, ñò-mènèè tìká (mon grand germain) signifie, selon le sexe du locuteur, soit 'mon frère aîné', soit 'ma sœur aînée '.

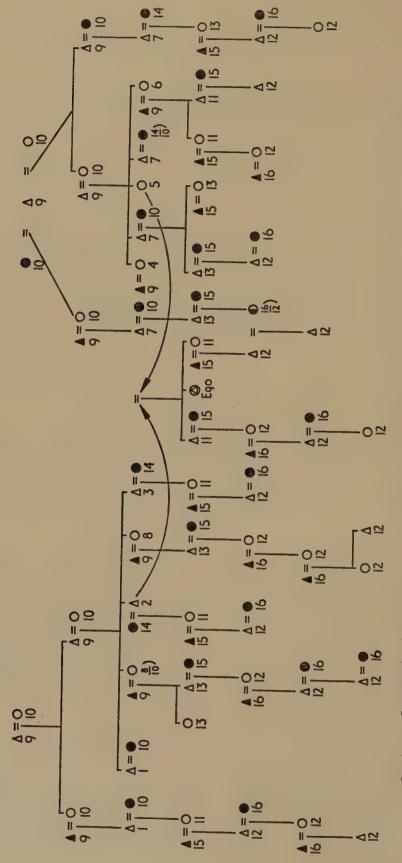
Le schéma 2 figure l'extension classificatoire des termes déjà identifiés. Il met aussi [nº 13] en évidence un nouveau vocable propre à la consanguinité, èè-mààlè (ou ñò-èè-mààlè), qui désigne l'enfant d'une 'sœur '2 du père d'Ego ou l'enfant d'un 'frère de la mère d'Ego. Ce terme peut être remplacé par páñsòpin, mais l'inverse n'est pas vrai: c'est-à-dire, par exemple, que je n'appelle pas mon frère èè-màdlè. Dans sa propre génération, Ego peut donc distinguer ses cousins (ou cousines) croisés par un terme spécifique, qui partage avec páñsòpin3 — à l'exclusion des autres termes de consanguinité cités — le privilège de la réciprocation.

Certains éléments de la structure sont déjà repérables:

- (a) Le système classe mon père, ses frères et cousins comme mes pères (n-téé-à-m-pù),
- 1 Au fur et à mesure de notre inventaire, les principaux termes de parenté ont été ou seront affectés de numéros portés en marge; dans les schémas, les mêmes numéros, souscrits à \( \Delta \) et \( \O, \) se réfèrent auxdits termes.
- <sup>2</sup> Lorsqu'un terme français indiquant la parenté se trouve entre guillemets, il doit toujours être pris

dans l'acception classificatoire convenant au terme kùláál correspondant. Sans guillemets, le même terme doit se comprendre dans le sens français habituel.

3 Et ñò-mènèè-á, terme qui, là où il intervient, n'a pas l'extension de páñsôpin, mais est employé en synonymie de ce dernier mot.



Schéмл 2. Consanguins d Ego (Д ○) et conjoints des consanguins (Д ●) (compte non tenu de l'alliance personnelle d'Ego).

dont j'appelle chacun páá, en faisant suivre ce mot d'un qualifiant approprié (tìká ou pán) lorsqu'il ne s'agit pas de mon père géniteur;

ma mère, ses sœurs et cousines comme mes mères (no-èè-ki-pè-m-pv), dont j'appelle chacune máá, en faisant suivre ce mot d'un qualifiant approprié (tiká ou má) quand il ne s'agit pas de ma mère génitrice;

chacun et chacune de mes enfants, petits-enfants, arrière-petits-enfants et leurs

cousins comme mon enfant.

(b) Comme le montre sémantiquement  $-p\dot{v}^{\mathrm{I}}$  de n- $t\acute{e}\acute{e}$ -d-m- $p\dot{v}$  et  $n\acute{o}$ - $e\acute{e}$ - $k\acute{i}$ - $p\acute{e}$ -m- $p\dot{v}$ , une réelle alliance unissant les  $p\grave{e}res$  d'Ego aux  $m\grave{e}res$  d'Ego prend corps en même temps que (et par) le mariage liant géniteur et génitrice d'Ego.

(c) Les rejetons de cette alliance réelle se reconnaissent comme tels en recourant

à une appellation réciproque: páñsòpìn.

- (d) èè-mààlè n'est pas exclu du degré de páñsòpìn: lorsque nous écrirons 'frère' (ou 'sœur'), le mot signifiera indistinctement l'une ou l'autre de ces deux modalités d'une même relation.<sup>2</sup>
- (e) Le terme  $\tilde{n}\tilde{o}$ -èè-màdlè, 'mon cousin croisé 'ou 'ma cousine croisée ', traduit lexicalement la communauté de génération.<sup>3</sup> Dans le syntagme entre en effet èè, mot désignant la 'mère 'en tant que génitrice; de ce fait,  $\tilde{n}\tilde{o}$ -èè-màdlè qui signifie littéralement 'mon petit de mère '— veut dire 'enfant de ma génération '.

Outre l'identification classificatoire des consanguins d'Ego, le schéma 2 représente celle des conjoints de ces consanguins (abstraction faite de l'alliance personnelle d'Ego). La terminologie opère ici un classement tripartite:

1) Antérieurement à la génération d'Ego, les conjoints des consanguins sont le plus souvent affectés des vocables connus káápòì [nº 9] et káá [nº 10], dont nous savons qu'ils désignent respectivement 'aïeul 'et 'aïeule', c'est-à-dire des 'grands' particulièrement respectables. Alors que, dans la consanguinité, les deux termes apparaissent seulement à partir de la deuxième génération, l'alliance les fait surgir dès la première.

Notons cependant, (a) chez les consanguins, le passage anticipé de táá [nº 8] à káá [nº 10], lorsqu'il s'agit d'une sœur aînée de mon père; (b) chez les conjoints des con[nº 14] sanguins, l'existence d'une dénomination spéciale, èè-wáá [mère-femme], qui concerne par priorité — à l'exclusion d'autre vocable — une épouse de mon père distincte de ma mère. Ego emploie couramment ce terme pour nommer la femme, relativement jeune, d'un páápáŋ [nº 3], — ou bien la femme, relativement jeune, d'un titti puîné de máá; par contre, une épouse de páátìká ou de titti aîné de máá est appelée káá.

répondant -pin dans la classe des déterminatifs (cas de páñsòpin).

<sup>2</sup> La coutume du mariage préférentiel entre cousins croisés est inconnue à Boum Kabir, où cousins parallèles et croisés entrent traditionnellement dans le cadre prohibitif de l'inceste. — Au niveau de la nomenclature, no-èèmadlè ne serait probablement pas remplaçable par pánsòpin si l'interdit d'inceste concernait les parallèles et pas les croisés. En effet, dans les contextes ethniques où prévaut la solution du

mariage entre cousins croisés, subsiste — tout comme ailleurs — le souci de garantir contre une dénaturation incestueuse l'alliance ancestrale, dont le maintien est ainsi prévu: une cousine croisée peut alors devenir ma femme en ce qu'elle n'est pas ma 'sœur', tandis que je ne puis épouser une cousine parallèle, classée comme 'sœur'.

³ èèmàdlè et pañsòpin sont rejetons d'individus qui, remarquons-le, s'appellent eux-mêmes mutuellement 'páñsòpin'.

4 Cf. les deux numéros 7 occupant la partie droite du schéma 2.

L'une et l'autre de ces oscillations demeurent significatives: elles rejoignent une tendance générale du groupe à privilégier l'ancienneté, c'est-à-dire l'aînesse. D'autre part, l'emploi de èèwáá montre que l'épouse d'un 'père' et celle d'un titti sont rangées dans une même classe, définie comme 'marâtre'.

[nº 15] 2) Au niveau de sa génération, Ego appelle chacun et chacune de ses allié(e)s hốñ,

terme réciproquement valable.

[nº 16] 3) Dans toutes les générations postérieures, Ego nomme no-káá² chacun ou chacune des conjoints de ses consanguins.³ Ego est réciproquement appelé no-káá par chacun et chacune de ces personnes.

Avec le mariage d'Ego intervient un nouveau contingent de parents, qui sont ses alliés immédiats. L'analyse des alliés atteignait jusqu'à présent les conjoints des consanguins d'Ego; elle doit désormais concerner le conjoint d'Ego et les consanguins de ce conjoint. Le schéma 3, qui dote Ego du sexe masculin, comporte un échantillon des différentes relations à désigner dans la belle-famille.

# 1) Les conjoints

Chacune des femmes d'Ego est dite wòsò-wáá (litt.: personne femelle) ou áálé, dichotomie lexicale qui rappelle l'usage similaire, en français, de 'femme' et 'épouse'. Ego est wòsò-pòìl (litt.: personne mâle) ou pélé, identité correspondant à 'mari' ou 'époux'.

# 2) Consanguins du conjoint

La terminologie se simplifie beaucoup, récupérant des termes connus, qui font abstraction du sexe d'Ego et du sexe de la personne nommée: (a) Ego considère comme  $h\tilde{o}\tilde{n}$  [n° 15] tout consanguin de son épouse appartenant à la même génération qu'elle; (b) Ego nomme  $\tilde{n}\tilde{o}$ - $k\tilde{a}\tilde{a}$  [n° 16] tout consanguin de son épouse appartenant à une quelconque génération antérieure ou postérieure. Chacune de ces deux appellations admet — on le sait déjà — la réciprocation.

Si, dans le schéma 3, nous transférons la personne d'Ego sur un conjoint féminin, par exemple sur W', rien de ce qui vient d'être dit n'est modifié, mais une dernière [nº 17] désignation apparaît avec le terme ñò úsà, employé par Ego pour appeler W' et toute épouse d'un páñsòpìn (ou èèmààlè) du mari. Il s'agit donc d'une appellation réci-

<sup>1</sup> 'marâtre' est à entendre techniquement comme 'femme du père par rapport aux enfants d'un autre lit'.

A ce propos, il convient d'ajouter que la situation éventuellement créée par une polyandrie successive n'aboutit pas, du côté paternel, à une terminologie symétrique. Autrement dit, aucun analogue du mot français 'parâtre' né figure en regard de èèvád. Si ma mère se remarie après la mort de mon père, son nouvel époux est pád, tout comme le précédent, je nomme les consanguins de ce second pád de la même façon que je désignais ceux de mon géniteur. Pareille assimilation est d'autant moins factice que le nouvel époux, prenant la plupart du temps la place d'un 'frère' défunt, entrait déjà dans la classe de mes 'pères' avant d'épouser ma mère. Ainsi, tout se passe comme si la présence du degré zéro dans la dénomination du second époux de ma mère

enregistrait le lévirat comme un trait pertinent du système considéré.

Signalons enfin que, si le terme 'parâtre' est absent de la nomenclature, la réalité péjorative qu'il connote s'incarne parfois dans le personnage de *tìttì* (cf. ci-dessous, p. 366).

- <sup>2</sup> On reconnaît dans ce terme le monème  $k\acute{a}\acute{a}$ , présent dans l'appellation d'un ancêtre. Ici,  $|k\acute{a}\acute{a}|$  n'est jamais séparé du possessif antéposé  $|\tilde{n}\acute{o}|$ , et l'appellation  $\tilde{n}\acute{o}$ - $k\acute{a}\acute{a}$  [n° 16] convient indistinctement à un homme ou à une femme.
- <sup>3</sup> À commencer par les conjoints de ses propres enfants et petits-enfants (qui ne figurent pas sur le schéma 2, où Ego n'est pas marié).
- 4 ñò 'úsà est le seul terme nommant une relation au travers de deux alliances horizontalement figurées (cf. schéma 3 bis): la relation définie implique en effet, entre Ego et chacune des intéressées, sa propre

proque, dont usent mutuellement Ego, W' et chaque épouse d'un 'frère' du conjoint (cf. schéma 3 bis). Ego, appelée èèwáá [nº 14] par un enfant de W', identifie cet enfant comme páñsò ñò úsà-n, 'enfant-de-ma-discorde'. Quant au vocable ñò úsà, sa traduction littérale n'est autre que 'ma discorde', terme dont l'humour significatif s'estompe si on le transpose en 'ma rivale', quoique cette expression cerne bien la réalité psychologique en cause: une personne 'rivale' peut être amie ou ennemie, mais rarement indifférente.

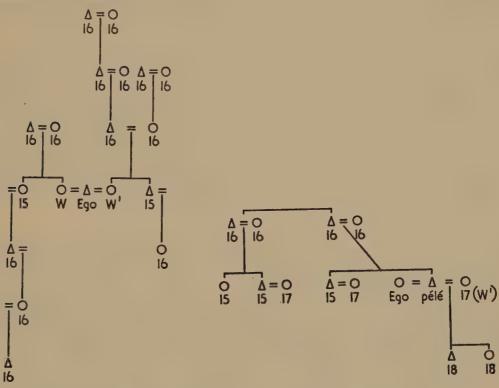


Schéma 3. Conjoints et consanguins du conjoint.

SCHÉMA 3 bis.

Dans ce qui précède, l'examen de la nomenclature comportait une analyse concomitante des termes mis à jour. Trois remarques finales s'inscriront en complément de l'analyse.

1. La symétrie notable entre termes patrilatéraux et termes matrilatéraux se résume

en diptyque:

	patrilatéraux	matrilatéraux
consanguinité	páá [nº 1, 2, 3] táá [nº 8] káápòł [nº 9] káá [nº 10]	máá [nº 4, 5, 6] tìttí [nº 7] káápòi [nº 9] káá [nº 10]
affinité	èèwáá [nº 14] káápòì [nº 9] káá [nº 10]	èèwáá [nº 14] káápòł [nº 9] káá [nº 10]

alliance + l'alliance de l'intéressée. Toutes ces alliances ont ceci en commun que le parti masculin est 'unique', car — ou bien constitué par un seul individu, — ou bien composé d'individus en relation de páñsòpin.

L'humour sait déclarer plaisamment des choses sérieuses qui peuvent, à la limite, confiner à la calamité. Employé à bon escient, c'est-à-dire socialement intégré, il n'est pas démuni de valeur cathartique.

En fait, ce n'est pas une exception de voir, à Boum Kabir, deux épouses d'un même homme vivre en excellent voisinage, et se comporter mutuellement comme des sœurs, jusques et y compris dans le soin pris par l'une des enfants de l'autre.

A l'étage supérieur, le tableau met en évidence deux cas d'hétéronymie. Le premier correspond à la distinction de 'père 'et 'mère', formellement opposés comme tels à tous autres parents. Un second binôme différencié comprend la 'sœur' du père (táá) et le 'frère' de la mère (tìtti): nous demanderons à la terminologie de préciser par rapport à Ego la situation du couple formel tìtti|táá et de chaque individu de ce couple.

Au niveau de leur progéniture respective (confondue par Ego sous l'appellation nồ-èèmààlè) apparaît la similitude relationnelle des deux individus par rapport à Ego:

d'une part, depuis son alliance, la sœur du père (originellement proche de celui-ci) s'est éloignée de la parenté consanguine,

d'autre part, lors de l'alliance de sa propre sœur, le frère de la mère (originellement loin, comme celle-ci, des consanguins du père d'Ego) est entré dans la parenté consanguine d'Ego. Par rapport à ces deux mouvements inverses (de la consanguinité vers l'alliance, de l'alliance vers la consanguinité), la situation d'Ego est fonction d'une distance à la fois labile (croissante ou décroissante) et réelle (finale ou initiale); dans cette perspective, la dualité des termes táá et tìttí semble viser la disparité sexuée d'une distance homologue, plutôt qu'une différenciation de rang (et donc de rôle) dans la consanguinité.

L'hypothèse devient encore plus plausible, si l'on se souvient que le conjoint de titti est affecté du même nom que l'épouse d'un 'père' (c'est-à-dire èèwáá ou káá), — que le conjoint de táá est nommé comme l'époux d'une 'mère' (c'est-à-dire káápòi). Par ce chiasme terminologique, repéré au niveau des alliances dans la première génération des ascendants, le vocabulaire d'Ego associe étroitement l'oncle matrilatéral au père, la tante patrilatérale à la mère, — tandis que l'homonymie (èèmààlè) attribuée par Ego à la progéniture de titti et à celle de táá oppose ce couple formel à celui de páá et máá, dont les rejetons sont appelés différemment.

La réalité vérifie ces présomptions: l'oncle matrilatéral tient (parfois en parâtre) vis-à-vis d'Ego un rôle qui l'assimile au père, cependant que táá témoigne d'un comportement maternel envers le fils de son frère.

2. En recourant à un terme de parenté, Ego définit toujours une relation, qu'il exprime de façon plus ou moins abstraite, selon que le vocable prescinde totalement, partiellement ou pas du tout le sexe des 'relatifs', et selon la faculté que possède ou non ce vocable d'être réciproqué par la ou les personnes nommées. Ceci revient à dire qu'un terme de parenté n'est pas une étiquette à la disposition d'Ego, mais un concept, dont le maniement suppose extension et compréhension socialement sanctionnées: en définissant dans la pratique ces coordonnées du concept, une société poursuit sa propre définition structurelle.

Réciprocation du terme et connotation du sexe constituent deux traits distincts, dont la stricte interdépendance n'intervient qu'en situation limite, — soit dans l'abstraction spatio-temporelle représentée par le mot français 'parent' (tellement extensif, réciproque et asexué qu'il ne constitue pas, à proprement parler, un terme de parenté), — soit en présence de l'alliance, où l'univocité des termes suppose leur attribution à et par un sexe déterminé ('époux' est tel pour 'épouse'). Entre ces deux extrêmes, plusieurs corrélations intermédiaires sont théoriquement possibles. Il est vrai qu'un terme de parenté est ou n'est pas réciproqué, mais l'information qu'il

donne ou refuse sur le sexe des individus relatifs ne se présente pas sous forme disjonctive: elle ressortit à quatre formules possibles, dont chacune se trouve appliquée dans le système en vigueur à Boum Kabir, comme le montre l'inventaire suivant.

### NOTIFICATION DU SEXE PAR LES TERMES DE PARENTÉ

	Parent(s) nommé(s)	Nomenclature correspondante			
Ego	par Ego	dans la consanguinité	dans l'affinité		
1. Absence de notification	Absence de notification	páñsòpìn [nº 11] èèmàdlè [nº 13] páñsòñòn [nº 12]	hốñ [nº 15] ñòkáá [nº 16]		
2. Absence de notification	Notification	páá [nº 1, 2, 3] máá [nº 4, 5, 6] tìttl [nº 7] táá [nº 8] káápòl [nº 9] káá [nº 10]	káápòì [nº 9] èèwáá [nº 14] káá [nº 10]		
3. Notification	Absence de notification		páñsò ñò 'úsàn¹ [nº 18]		
4. Notification	Notification	ñòmènèèpé ñòmènèèá	pélé = áálè wòsòpòil = wósòwáá ñò ásà [nº 17]		
4 bis. Notification de la mant et nommé	parité sexuelle entre nom-	ñòmènèèá²	••		

Loin d'aboutir à un découpage purement formel, ce classement vérifie ou résume l'agencement de statuts et de rôles domestiques.

(a) Dans la consanguinité ascendante, ce n'est pas le sexe d'Ego qui importe, mais celui d'individus déterminant l'alliance par rapport à laquelle Ego situe son existence en les nommant.

(b) Dans la rangée des 'frères et sœurs', la terminologie enregistre et l'absence (páñsòpìn, èèmàdlè) et la présence d'individus sexués: si Ego n'est pas immédiatement concerné par le sexe de ses 'frères' et 'sœurs', celui-ci n'en conditionne pas moins les modalités de leurs alliances, dans lesquelles Ego s'engage 'de pair' (cf. la rigueur distinctive de ñòmènèèá|ñòmènèèá|ñòmènèèpé).

(c) Du terme páñsòñòn, signifiant la filiation, la notification du sexe est exclue. Quel que soit Ego, et que son enfant soit fils, fille, petit-fils, petite-fille, neveu, nièce . . ., ce descendant est suffisamment déterminé comme 'mon enfant'.

(d) Au niveau de l'alliance contractée par Ego, — Ego féminin démontre sa position ambiguë par l'usage de termes qui lui sont propres (ñò úsà, páñsò ñò úsàn); — les sexes sont toujours notifiés. Aucun terme kùláál ne correspond, par exemple, au mot français 'conjoint'.

(e) En exceptant les conjoints d'ascendants, ainsi que le conjoint d'Ego et le cas de no úsa, la terminologie résume les alliés sous deux termes (hon et nokáa): le clivage s'effectue ici, indépendamment du sexe, entre 'in-law' de la génération d'Ego et 'in-law' qui n'y appartient pas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pour désigner l'enfant de la femme de son mari, Ego féminin peut dire aussi ' páñsò pélén' (' enfant du mari').

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Dit par Ego masculin, nomeneed — rappelons-le — signifie 'mon frère', tandis qu'Ego féminin use de ce terme pour désigner sa 'sœur'.

Quant à la structure de la réciprocation, elle est schématisable par deux triangles opposés dont le sommet commun représente l'alliance d'Ego. Dans cette perspective,

on voit que tous mes ascendants et leurs conjoints, en compagnie de tous mes descendants, échappent à une terminologie réciprocable. Partout ailleurs, les termes employés par Ego sont biunivoques.

Comme clausule anecdotique à notre deuxième remarque, un tableau comparatif des terminologies kùláál et française mettra en corrélation, dans l'un et l'autre cas, les deux traits 'notification du sexe ' et ' réciprocité des termes '.

3. Positivement atteinte par l'analyse terminologique, une structure familiale livre le tracé négatif de ses contours en manifestant, au niveau de la conduite sociale, ce qu'elle dénie d'elle-même, à savoir les alliances incestueuses.

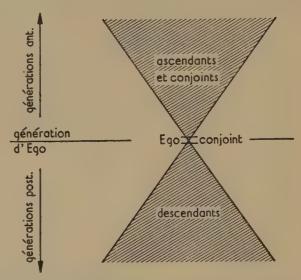


Schéma de la réciprocité. (En dehors de la zone hachurée, tout terme de parenté est réciproque. Dans la zone hachurée, aucun ne l'est.)

### NOTIFICATION DU SEXE ET RÉCIPROCITÉ DES TERMES

5	ıg.	les	:					
7				1		. ,	1	

7 1 .4.1			To tour to second!		
Le terme de parenté donne u	ne intoi	mation	Le terme de parenté		
— sur aucun sexe .		O	— est réciproqué .		$\leftrightarrow$
— sur un sexe		I	— n'est pas réciproqué		$\rightarrow$
our les deux seves		TT			

		Terminologie kùláál				Terminologie française			
			Affinité			Affinité			
	Consan- guinité	Conjoints des con- sanguins	Alliance d'Ego	Consan- guins du conjoint	Consan- guinité	Conjoints des con- sanguins	Alliance d'Ego	Consan- guins du conjoint	
Générations antérieures à Ego	<b>I</b> →	I →		O ↔	I →	I →	••	. I→	
Génération d'Ego	$\begin{matrix} O \leftrightarrow \\ [II \rightarrow] \\ [\leftrightarrow] \end{matrix}$	0↔	$\begin{array}{c} \text{II} \rightarrow \\ [\leftrightarrow] \end{array}$	0↔	$\begin{matrix} I \to \\ \longleftrightarrow \end{matrix}$	I → ↔	$\begin{array}{c} \Pi \to \\ [O \leftrightarrow] \end{array}$	$\begin{matrix} I \rightarrow \\ \leftrightarrow \end{matrix}$	
Générations postérieures à Ego	O →	O↔	• •	O ↔	I →	I ->	• •	I →	

Relevons tout d'abord que l'endogamie du régime étudié est un fait: ni dans la théorie, ni en pratique un mariage exogamique n'encourt la moindre réprobation. Étant donné la tradition patrilocale en vigueur sur une aire qui déborde de beaucoup le pays du lac Iro, on peut rencontrer à Boum Kabir une infime minorité de femmes étrangères<sup>1</sup> alliées à des villageois, mais l'inverse n'a pas lieu.

Par ailleurs, le cadre de l'inceste ne présente pas à l'observateur un tracé minutieusement défini. Ego exclut d'une alliance possible ses parents du premier degré. Nous

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ces femmes appartiennent aux deux groupes voisins, arabe et sara.

avons déjà signalé que la coutume écartait aussi les mariages entre cousins parallèles et entre cousins croisés. Sur ce point particulier, on peut noter une évolution récente, explicitement rapportée à l'influence des mœurs arabes voisines. Tàkì, un homme d'environ trente ans, a épousé une páñsòpìn, fille d'un parent qu'il appelait páá-tìká. Lui-même mentionne que des alliances de ce genre ont fait leur apparition (du reste sporadique) depuis une quinzaine d'années seulement. Sans préciser de degré, la tradition ancestrale n'admettait alors pas que les conjoints fussent en relation de páñsòpìn ou d'èèmààlè.

Dans la même conversation, Tàkì¹ ajoutait spontanément un commentaire dont l'énoncé mérite d'être considéré comme celui d'une loi coutumière: 'Toi et ton "frère", vous ne pouvez vous réunir [= contracter chacun alliance] dans un même lieu; s'il s'agit de lieux différents, alors vous pouvez.' — Ce principe rend compte de l'interdit porté sur le mariage de deux frères avec deux filles d'un père différent de celui des deux frères. En régime patrilinéaire, il est compréhensible que le même principe vaille normalement aussi pour 'toi et ton "père", c'est-à-dire qu'Ego n'épouse pas sa belle-fille (ñòkáá) ni sa belle-mère (ñòkáá, èèwáá), en cas de décès de leur conjoint. Par contre, nous avons dit que le lévirat (alliance avec l'épouse du 'frère' défunt) est communément pratiqué:² dans ce cas, deux frères ne se 'réunissent' pas dans un même lieu, mais l'un prolonge une alliance interrompue par la mort.

Précisant ainsi les modalités qui excluent ou rendent licite un mariage, le système pratiqué par les Goula Iro garde sa cohérence. Il affirme en même temps, dans la singularité de son modèle, le fait universellement significatif de la prohibition de l'inceste: en contractant alliance, n'importe quel Ego instaure, au niveau de la culture, une famille structurellement semblable à celle qui lui fut donnée par nature. Pour que la similitude en question soit possible, Ego doit distinguer les termes comparables, l'inceste n'étant évidemment autre, dans cette perspective, que confusion annihilante de nature et de culture.<sup>3</sup>

# Summary

### KINSHIP STRUCTURE AMONG THE GULA IRO

A LIST of kinship terms can never, on its own, give an adequate account of family structure; the study of the terminology must be complemented by the analysis of observed customs

(rituals of marriage and birth, family organization, &c.).

On the basis of knowledge already available on the customs practised in the village of Bum Kabir, the purpose of this article is to relate a system of terminology to a system of traditional behaviour. The coherence of the two systems is not surprising, and once it has been recognized it leads the anthropologist to retain certain hypotheses and to distinguish connexions which the working of the language provides. In this light a kinship term is no longer seen as a *label* which is more or less different from another but as a *concept* defined by society for its own use and within its own usage.

- <sup>1</sup> Sa femme-páñsòpìn habitait, avant le mariage, à 30 km de Boum Kabir, au village de Tamba, où se trouvait domicilié le père de celle-ci (le père de Tàkì habite Boum Kabir).
- <sup>2</sup> Celui épouse la femme d'un 'frère' décédé dit 'ñó kút máàl-è-pìn' (litt.: 'j'épouse notre dot').
- <sup>3</sup> Étymologiquement, 'inceste' est la négation de la 'caste' en même temps que de la 'chasteté'. En d'autres termes, la 'caste' des consanguins et la 'caste' des alliés postulent chacune leur intégrité, faute de laquelle l'alliance, vide de tout contenu réel, se dissoudrait en mélange naturel.

# Notes and News

Ford Foundation: African Studies Fellowship Program

THE Ford Foundation has awarded the following grants for field research in African Studies in 1964-5:

J. Michael Armer (Duquesne). The effects of mass education on the traditional values of youth in the Northern Region of Nigeria (Nigeria).

Mario J. Bick (Columbia). An ethnographic study of the effect of the national government on Fipa institutions (England and Tanganyika).

Charles S. Bird (Los Angeles). The collection and organization of data on the Bambara language for thesis on syntax (England, France, and Mali).

William A. Brown (Wisconsin). The social and intellectual background of the Mali religious revolution of 1818 (Morocco and Mali).

Nicholas G. Carter (Massachusetts). Multidisciplinary area studies and research on development of programming techniques in a developing country (Nigeria).

John D. Esseks (Harvard). Economic development in Ghana since 1957 (England and Ghana).

Stephen M. Feierman (Northwestern). Multidisciplinary area studies relating to Africa (Oxford).

Nicholas J. Gubser (Oxford). Italian, Amharic, and Galla linguistics and studies relating to Ethiopia (Florence and Paris).

Svend E. Holsoe (Boston). An ethnological study of the Vai (England, Liberia, and Sierra Leone).

John M. Janzen (Chicago). The political and religious structure of the BaKongo (France, Belgium, and the Republic of the Congo).

Charles M. H. Keil (Chicago). Ethnomusicological study of tribal groupings of the Benue-Congo linguistic sub-family (England and Nigeria).

Wyatt MacGaffey (Los Angeles). The social structure and evolution of customary law among the BaKongo (Republic of the Congo).

John S. Saul (Princeton). Linguistic and area studies relating to Africa (London).

Paul F. Semonin (Ghana). The influence of the Algerian Revolution on political change in West Africa (Algiers, Paris, Senegal, and West Africa).

Jack R. Stauder (Cambridge). The relation of ecology to the social structure of the Masango of south, west Ethiopia (Ethiopia).

Nikolaas J. van der Merwe (Yale). African archaeology and physical methods for the dating of iron (South Africa).

Richard F. Weisfelder (Harvard). The development of political parties and political interest groups in Basutoland (London and Basutoland).

Extensions of their present fellowships have been granted to:

David B. Abernethy (Harvard). The politics of mass education in Southern Nigeria (Southern Nigeria and the United States).

Frederick C. Gamst (Berkeley). An ethnographic study of the Kemant Agau peoples of Ethiopia (Ethiopia).

G. Wesley Johnson (Columbia). A political history of four communes of Senegal (Senegal, Paris, and the United States).

Willard R. Johnson (Harvard). The creation of an integrated political community in the Federal Republic of Cameroun (Harvard).

Raymond K. Kent (Wisconsin). Malgache language and a history of the Malagasy Republic (Paris and the Malagasy Republic).

Martin A. Klein (Chicago). An African society (Paris and Chicago).

Gene A. Maguire (Harvard). The political history of the Sukuma of Tanganyika (Tanganyika, England, and the United States).

David C. Mulford (Oxford). Constitutional change and political parties in Northern Rhodesia, 1957-64 (England).

Joseph S. Nye (Harvard). Pan-Africanism and unification in East Africa (Harvard).

Mary E. Read (Minnesota). Legal change among the Sukuma in Tanganyika (Tanganyika and England).

John A. Rowe (Wisconsin). An historical study of a Buganda political leader in 1875 (Uganda and the United States).

Arnold G. Rubin (Indiana). Jukun arts and their cultural contexts (England, France, and Nigeria).

Satish C. Saberwal (Cornell). Social structure and change among the Embu (Kenya and the United States).

Aaron L. Segal (California). Efforts towards closer union and federation in East Africa (East Africa).

Leo Spitzer (Wisconsin). Multidisciplinary studies relating to South Africa (Wisconsin).

Sidney R. Waldron (Columbia). Social change in an urban area in Ethiopia (United States).

Wolfgang O. Weissleder (Chicago). Aspects of traditional Ethiopian society (Europe and Chicago).

Claude Welch (Harvard). Recent attempts at political unification in West Africa (Oxford).

# International African Seminar on the Impact of Christianity in Tropical Africa

THE International African Institute is organizing a seminar on the Impact of Christianity in Tropical Africa, to be held from Tuesday, 6 April, to Friday, 16 April 1965, at the University of Ghana, Legon, by courtesy of the Vice-Chancellor. The chairman will be Professor C. G. Baëta, Head of the Department for the Study of Religions at the University of Ghana. The seminar will be the third in a second series of International African Seminars arranged with the aid of a grant from the Ford Foundation.

Papers and discussions will include consideration of the following themes: the introduction of Christianity into Africa in historical perspective; missionary attitudes, methods, relationships, and service; the interaction of Christianity and African life and thought; Christianity in contemporary Africa, including reference to problems of tribalism and race, social change and industrialization, neo-African cultural ideas, and the resurgence of indigenous beliefs and practices.

# The African Studies Association of the United Kingdom

An African Studies Association of the United Kingdom has been instituted, and by June 1964 had some 300 members. Pending the first Annual General Meeting of the Association on 17 September 1964, a provisional Council had been elected under the Presidency of Miss Margery Perham, C.B.E., with Professor J. D. Fage as the Honorary Secretary.

A bulletin of Information is issued free to members three times a year and so far two issues have appeared. Non-members may for the time being subscribe to this for 15s. a year. Among the aims of the Association are: to represent the interests of African Studies in the United Kingdom and those engaged in them both nationally (e.g. vis-à-vis government and university authorities in the U.K.) and internationally (e.g. vis-à-vis the International Congress of Africanists); to assist visiting Africanists from overseas; to provide information in connexion with exchanges of teachers and research workers to African universities; to hold from time to time conferences, at which the progress of African studies, more particularly in the United Kingdom, will be reviewed on an interdisciplinary basis.

The first conference has just been held at Birmingham University from 14 to 17 September, when there was discussion of papers presented in advance on the role of social anthropology and of economics in African studies (Prof. D. Forde, Mr. W. T. Newlyn); African language classification (Prof. M. Guthrie); studies in African population and food-supply (Prof. R. W. Steel); the natural sciences in Africa (Dr. R. W. J. Keay); African archaeology (Prof. J. D. Clark); and the relationship between Egyptology and African studies (Prof. H. W. Fairman).

Application for membership should be made to the Honorary Secretary, c/o Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham.

International Congress of Agricultural and Food Industries in Tropical and Subtropical Regions

THE first International Congress of Agricultural and Food Industries in Tropical and Subtropical Regions is to be held in Abidjan, at the invitation of the Government of the Republic of the Ivory Coast, from 14 to 19 December 1964. The Congress will be organized by the C.I.A.A., the B.I.P.C.A. and SEDIAC and the theme will be 'Aspects and perspectives of the industrialization of agricultural products of biological origin'. The various aspects of the subject to be dealt with will include research, technology, and industrialization concerned with agricultural products; problems of marketing, distribution, and transportation; teaching, research, and training of technicians; information, publicity, and documentation; and the connexions between agricultural economy, sociology, and technology. The languages of the Congress will be English, French, German, and Spanish.

# Centre of West African Studies: University of Birmingham

A CENTRE of West African Studies at the University of Birmingham will be in full operation from October 1964, under the direction of J. D. Fage, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of African History.

Courses dealing with Africa in general and West Africa in particular are being provided for the B.A. Honours Degrees in Geography and History, and for the B.A. in Combined Subjects (in Geography, History, Political Science, and Sociology). For the B.Soc. Sc. Degree, West African Studies are a recognized field of study, courses being offered in the Economic and Social History of West Africa; in the Economics of Development, with special reference to Africa; in Traditional West African Cultures and Societies; in Modern West African Society; and in Government and Administration in West Africa.

A Post-graduate Diploma in African Studies is also available, following one year of full-time study and an examination consisting of four papers, or three papers and a dissertation.

A post-graduate and staff seminar is already in operation. Its theme for the first term of 1964-5 will be 'People and Cities in West Africa', while for the second term it is expected that seminars will be held on 'West African Ecology'. Opportunities exist for research, with reference to Africa in general and West Africa in particular, in sociology and social anthropology; geography (especially human and agricultural geography); history (especially economic and social history); economics; political science and government; and education.

# African Literature in the Department of English, University of Ibadan

THE Department of English in the University of Ibadan has recently started an undergraduate course in African Literature, divided broadly into two sections—the Historical and Sociological Background and the Study of Present-day African Writers. The former includes intensive study of oral and traditional material and its relevance for the African writer. The study of African writers concentrates on writings by black Africans in English—originals or translations. Some attention is also paid to indigenous white African writers, expatriate writers on Africa, the Caribbean writers, American Negro literature, and relevant literature in English. An M.A. course will be offered in the field of African literary studies from 1965.

The Department would welcome news of the activities, publications, vacation seminars, and field projects of Institutes and University Departments concerned with African studies, and would be glad to supply on-the-spot information about African, and especially West African, writing and its own research activities. This may be obtained from Professor D. E. S. Maxwell, Head of the Department, and Mr. O. R. Dathorne, Lecturer.

### University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: The Doke Collection

THE private library of Professor C. M. Doke, formerly Head of the Department of Bantu Studies at Witwatersrand University, has recently been acquired by the University College Library in Salisbury. It comprises more than 3,000 books, pamphlets, and manuscripts, many of them unobtainable today, and includes a number of very rare items, first editions of classic works on Bantu philology, such as Boyce's Grammar of the Kafir Language (1834), Koelle's Polyglotta Africana (1853), and Callaway's Nursery Tales and Traditions of the Zulus (1868); the manuscript of Torrend's Grammar of Rhodesian Tonga, and of MacMinn's Bemba-English Dictionary and his English-Bemba Vocabulary; and hitherto unpublished grammars and dictionaries in the languages of South-Central Africa, in some cases the only ones available (such as one in Lomwe, a Nyasaland language). More than 120 Bantu languages are represented in the collection, which is particularly strong in Shona, Nguni, Bemba, Northern Rhodesian Tonga, Nyanja, and Swahili. There are also a number of valuable collections of folklore. Many of the items have been annotated by Professor Doke, and formed the basis of his standard bibliographical work Bantu. Modern Grammatical, Phonetical and Lexicographical Studies since 1860. The collection has been acquired through the generosity of Professor Doke himself and with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation; when catalogued it will be available for consultation and research not only to Africanists in South-Central Africa, but to scholars elsewhere in Africa and in countries overseas.

# The National Archives of Zanzibar

THE National Archives and documentary records of Zanzibar date from 1840 and include the archives of the British and German Consulates, the British Residency and the Government Secretariat. Records illustrating the internal history and administration of Zanzibar and Pemba also exist in large series. In January 1964 the Zanzibar Government opened the National Archives to research workers and provided a modern fully equipped Public

Record Office to serve them. The staff will give every assistance in the identification and use of records and will supply details of record holdings on request. To avoid possible delay it is requested that intending visitors should give notice of their arrival and of their subjects of study. Subject to statutory provision, records less than fifty years old are not available to readers. Application should be made to Government Archives and Museum, P.O. Box 116, Zanzibar.

# The Italian Centre for Cultural Relations with the Swahili Area

THE Italian Centre for Cultural Relations with the Swahili Area has been formed in Rome in order to promote friendship and collaboration between the peoples of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Katanga, and other neighbouring Swahili speakers, and Italy. The Centre aims to promote and publish linguistic, historical, sociological, and economic research about the Swahili-speaking areas and to encourage the study of Swahili language and literature in Italy. It hopes to award prizes and scholarships and to co-operate with other organizations having similar aims. The President of the Centre is Dr. Andrea Oscar Crapanzano and the address, Casella Postale 2437, Roma.

### New Library of Congress Bibliography of French Equatorial Africa and French Trust Territories

A NEW 78-page bibliography recently issued by the Library of Congress—Official Publications of French Equatorial Africa, French Cameroons, and Togo, 1946–58: A Guide—is the ninth in its series of guides to documents of African countries. It has been compiled by Julian W. Witherell of the Library's African Section and lists publications issued during the term of the Fourth Republic by the Governments of French Equatorial Africa and its four component territories (Chad, Gabon, the Middle Congo, and Ubangi-Shari), the French Cameroons, and Togo. It also cites selected documents of the French Government, relating to its administration of these countries in the period 1946–58, and United Nations publications bearing directly on the trust territories of the French Cameroons and Togo.

Within each of these categories of publications, entries (a total of 405) are arranged alphabetically by author and title. An index provides a key to authors and subjects. Although official publications received by the Library served as the basic source for compiling the guide, they were supplemented by entries which other American libraries supplied to the National Union Catalog and by citations from published French and U.N. bibliographies. Locations in American libraries or the bibliographic source from which an item was taken are cited for each entry.

This publication is for sale by the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 20402, at 50 cents a copy.

# Guide to Archival and Manuscript Sources relating to Africa in the United States

THE Ford Foundation has awarded a grant to the African Studies Association for the production of a comprehensive descriptive guide to American diplomatic, commercial, educational, scientific, and other documentary sources relating to Africa over the past three and a half centuries. The National Historical Publications Commission, under the Chairmanship of the Archivist of the United States, has nominated an interdisciplinary group of Africanists chosen by the African Studies Association as an Advisory Committee for the project. The Guide will also serve as the United States national volume of the projected 'Guide to the Sources of African History' outside Africa, sponsored by the Unesco-affiliated International Council on Archives. It will provide comprehensive coverage of the African archives of

American government agencies, commercial concerns, and religious and missionary groups, and will also include relevant papers of private individuals or families. It would be appreciated if readers of this note would send information about little-known archival and manuscript sources relating to Africa to Mr. Morris Rieger, Director, National African Guide Project, National Historical Publications Commissions, National Archives and Records Service, Washington D.C. 20408.

# 'Geographers and the Tropics'

Geographers and the Tropics: Liverpool Essays (Longmans, 47s. 6d.) was published to coincide with a symposium on the tropics which the Department of Geography in the University of Liverpool organized before the assembly of the XXth International Geographical Congress in London in July 1964. Edited by Professor Robert W. Steel and Dr. R. Mansell Prothero of the Department of Geography, the essays include 'Geographers and the Tropics', by R. W. Steel, and others of specifically African interest, namely: 'Evidence of lake-level changes from the northern shoreline of Lake Victoria, Uganda', by P. H. Temple; 'Annual, seasonal and monthly rainfall over Moçambique', by S. Gregory; 'Rainfall and the water resources of East Africa', by Joan M. Kenworthy; 'The Land of Zanj: exegetical notes on Chinese knowledge of East Africa prior to A.D. 1500', by Paul Wheatley; 'Continuity and change in African population mobility', by R. Mansell Prothero; 'Changing patterns of African employment in Southern Rhodesia', by I. F. Masser; and 'Aspects of Ushi settlement history: Fort Rosebery District, Northern Rhodesia', by G. Kay.

# Research among the Tyo (Teke) of Congo Brazzaville

DR. JAN VANSINA, of the History Department, University of Wisconsin, sends the following note on his recent field research among the Tyo from October 1963 to April 1964, with the aid of grants from the Social Science Research Council and the Carnegie Foundation.

The aim was a study of the history of the political organization of the Tyo Kingdom. The social structure proved to be remarkable in combining bilateral groups with shallow matrilineages as basic social groups. The kingship was found to be intensely sacralized. With extensive decentralization there was limited scope for specialized political institutions. Tyo religion was found to have altered very little since the nineteenth century, there being no converts either to Christian missions or nativistic churches; there was a strong emphasis on witchcraft, which was linked to a very high valuation of leadership, the struggle for leadership being seen as a normal and desirable situation. The present organization of the kingdom does not go back beyond the end of the eighteenth century, but a kingdom existed at the end of the fifteenth century and probably much earlier. The effects of the slave trade, in which the Tyo engaged from the sixteenth century onwards, have been very great and during the eighteenth century the old economic basis of Teke culture changed. Tyo history has been mostly reconstructed from written, ethnographic, and archaeological data, as oral traditions do not go back beyond the first third of the nineteenth century. The short depth of tradition is related to the social structure, since everything is timeless beyond the range of the three-generation matrilineages.

# Research among the Sonjo of Tanganyika

PROFESSOR ROBERT F. GRAY of Tulane University, New Orleans, author of *The Sonjo of Tanganyika: an Anthropological Study of an Irrigation-based Society*, left for Tanganyika in July to do a further year's field study on the magic and medicine of the Sonjo, with a grant from the United States National Institute of Health.

# Ahmadu Bello University: Department of Languages

Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria, Northern Nigeria, is to open a new Department of Languages at the beginning of this session. It will concentrate primarily on French at the undergraduate level and post-graduate studies in Hausa for the first year or so, after which it is hoped to start an undergraduate course in Hausa. The Head of the Department is Mr. A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, a former Administrative Officer and Reader in Public Administration at the University. Mr. Kirk-Greene is at present working on a Hausa grammar in collaboration with Professor Kraft of Michigan State University and on a modern Hausa Reader with Malam Yahaya Aliyu of the Northern Secondary Teachers' College.

# Michigan State University: African Studies Center

THE African Studies Center of Michigan State University, in co-operation with the Department of Oriental and African Languages and Linguistics, has planned an expanded African languages programme for 1964–5. Courses at introductory level will be given in Bemba, Igbo, Swahili, and West African Pidgin English, while those in Hausa and Yoruba will provide for introductory, intermediate, and advanced levels. The Center, in conjunction with other departments, also offers a wide variety of non-language courses dealing with Africa in anthropology, economics, education, geography, history, political science, and sociology. Further information may be obtained from Dr. Charles C. Hughes, Director, African Studies Center, Michigan State University.

# 'A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti'; 'Igbo Village Affairs'

A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, by W. Walton Claridge, first published in 1915, has now been reprinted (London: Frank Cass, 1964. Two volumes, £8. 8s.). An introduction to the second edition has been written by W. E. F. Ward, author of A History of Ghana, who discusses Claridge's work in the light of recent research.

The same publisher has brought out a second edition of M. M. Green's *Igho Village Affairs* (355.), which refers mainly to the village of Umueke Agbaja. In her new preface Miss Green comments on changes which have occurred since the book's first publication in 1947.

# Republication of S. W. Koelle's 'Polyglotta Africana'

Support for the republication of the *Polyglotta Africana* was expressed in a resolution by the Third West African Languages Congress, held in March 1963 at Fourah Bay College, the University College of Sierra Leone. This work, compiled while Koelle was a tutor at Fourah Bay, was first published in 1854, and a special reprint has now been published in association with the *Sierra Leone Language Review*, the African Language Journal of Fourah Bay College. This reprint has been financed by means of a generous grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, and copies are being distributed free of charge to individual scholars of African languages: copies of the Fourah Bay reprint are not available for sale, but copies of a simultaneous commercial reprint may be purchased from the Akademische Druckund Verlagsanstalt (Graz, Austria). Both reprints include an historical introduction by Dr. P. E. H. Hair, recently Lecturer in History at Fourah Bay College.

It is intended that the wider availability of the *Polyglotta* should serve to encourage and facilitate further detailed comparative work in the African field, including the compilation of a linguistic and historical Symposium on the *Polyglotta* itself. Papers intended for this Symposium are to be published initially in the *Sierra Leone Language Review*, and the first four of these papers are included in the current number (No. 3/1964).

# Reviews of Books

Local Government and Politics in Uganda. By FRED G. BURKE. Syracuse University Press, 1964. Pp. xii, 274. \$7.50.

THE aim professed by Dr. Burke in this study of local government in Uganda is 'through the use of a structural functional comparative method logically to encompass traditional transitional and modern [political] institutions and behaviour'. He pursues this by selecting for intensive study three of Uganda's fourteen districts—the kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara, now a local authority dressed up as a unit in a federation, Teso, a district which is ethnically homogeneous in the sense that all its inhabitants call themselves Teso, and Bukedi, where six small tribes have been required to operate a joint council.

Bunyoro is one of the Interlacustrine Bantu kingdoms, Teso an acephalous society which once had an age-grade system, Bukedi includes some Teso and some peoples who seem to

be organized as minuscule states.

Dr. Burke is interested in what these different types of society have made of the local government system that was substituted, after the Creech Jones circular of 1947, for the Buganda-type bureaucracy originally established by the Protectorate Government. He is a specialist in government, and his account of the contemporary scene, the difficulties of making the English system work in the Uganda climate, is very much more valuable than his attempts to reconstruct the pre-colonial past, where he finds 'marriage dowries', 'witch doctors', and—seemingly baffled by the terminology of unilineal descent—'kinship associations'.

In Bunyoro, with its premiss of inequality, chiefs dominate councils. In Teso councillors have insisted on controlling recommendations to higher authority for the appointment of chiefs. Of course this is not due simply to the Teso 'genius' (p. 148), but to the fact that the role of chief is alien to their society. Another result of this fact is, as Dr. Burke points out, that chiefs know they are agents and not rulers—but agents of an authority outside the councils. Bukedi is a battlefield.

In his final chapter Dr. Burke adds to the instances of 'factionalism' cited from these three districts many more examples from other parts of Uganda. Much of this reflects local particularism, and, unlike most of his predecessors, Dr. Burke recognizes that this is a function of poor communications. But sometimes other types of opposition are significant, notably the rivalry of Protestant and Catholic which by this time has become notorious. Where is one to draw the line between deploring factionalism and outlawing parties? It seems inevitable that in countries where there is no opposition based on ideology, competition for office must reflect some kind of existing rivalry.

Lucy Mair

The King's Men: Leadership and Status in Buganda on the Eve of Independence. Ed. by L. A. Fallers. London: Oxford University Press for East African Institute of Social Research, 1964. Pp. xv, 414, ill., map. 40s.

Interpretation of the enigmatic characteristics of the Baganda has occupied a number of distinguished social scientists. As a tribe, their internal complexity and their external relations defy a single approach to analyse tribal, institutional and ideological characteristics. The contributors to *The King's Men*—an economic historian, social anthropologists, and a social psychologist—achieve a remarkable unanimity of interpretation. Yet the final lifting of the veil should come from trained Ganda social scientists, since few European observers

have managed to disguise the subtleties of their evaluations, and perhaps because of the active part the Ganda have played in shaping their own future.

The authors set out to 'examine some aspects of Ganda society and culture which condition and make up the substratum of contemporary Buganda politics'. Thus they examine 'the underlying features of culture and social structure which condition the way in which government and politics can operate in contemporary Buganda'.

Wrigley, analysing 'The Changing Economic Structure of Buganda', shows how wealth, power, and status, once indistinguishable, 'are not now precisely congruent', owing to increased occupational differentiation, specialization, and the emergence of a new class structure which has its roots in external trade, cash-crop farming, landownership, and tenant-landowner relations. Unlike the old economy, managed by various levels of chiefs and on a corporate basis, the trend has been towards a more widespread and individualistic entrepreneurship and more active participation of Africans in non-African economic enterprise. However, a 'depressed minor gentry' remains.

Fallers, assisted by two Ganda (F. K. Kamoga and S. B. K. Musoke), analyses traditional and modern social stratification in terms of the 'interplay among ideology, social differentiation and the process of allocation of persons to roles'. Under conditions of rapid change, or gradual modernization, ideas concerning wealth and prestige and standardized social relations may be no longer congruent as new economic opportunities rearrange the pattern of stratification. Traditionally, stratification was determined by the ascriptive rules of unilineal descent and achievement while serving the Kabaka. Fallers suggests that the trend has been from the former to the latter. Indeed, political change appears to have followed a similar line, from political authority based on descent and territorial groups to a centralized and often despotic monarchy which deprived the territorial descent groups of their political autonomy. However, in recent years of political turmoil the latter groupings (bataka) have again assumed some importance, while territorially based descent groups have dispersed considerably, allowing the Kabaka to control appointments more effectively and linking chiefs more directly to his overall political authority. Modern social stratification differs quantitatively, in terms of distinct roles, rather than in kind, because of the 'progressive separation of occupational structures from other structures—notably those of family and kinship...'. Fallers concludes that in non-modern societies 'occupation tends to determine one's place in the stratification system', and that modernization has resulted in a 'great proliferation and de-personalization of available occupation roles and hence incipient elaboration of occupation as a basis for social differentiation'. These characteristics are linked to an analysis of social mobility, always on a considerable scale in Buganda, both upward and downward, but now more clearly linked to education and entrepreneurship and hence a more differentiated elite.

Southwold takes us through a careful analysis of the unenviable position of the Ganda lower chief, at village level, torn between the expectations of his people, the orders of higher chiefs, and the remote political authority of the Buganda Government 'which appears to care little for his problems'. Southwold concludes with an interesting hypothesis: 'the efficiency of a bureaucratic system of government has to be paid for by creating severe role conflict for the lower chiefs.'

Dr. Richards, in two particularly interesting chapters, analyses attitudes to authority, and their early indoctrination in home and family life. Turning to present political behaviour she discusses the 'single authority pattern', patronage, the complex of client-structured relationships, traditional competitive struggles, the manifestations of *Schadenfreude*, and the 'concealed aggression' in a society 'allowing few ways to express political grievances'. She suggests that a centralized monarchy 'permits [nevertheless] the quickest introduction of innovations'. Patronage and the currying of favours are gradually being replaced by

new forms of competition and rivalry and a network of new alliances. In an Epilogue, Dr. Richards brings the Buganda story to the eve of Independence, tracing the events of the militant spirit of the Ganda negotiations, the significance of the new alliance between the traditionalist Kabaka Yekka party and the modern nationalist, and Uganda-wide, Uganda Peoples Congress. In conclusion she observes, hopefully, that the 'Baganda seem altogether less turned in on themselves' and that the word 'Ugandan' is occasionally spoken by Ganda.

Professor L. Doob contributes a brief study on Leaders and Followers, observing that there is little to differentiate the two groups.

Read in conjunction with earlier studies on the subject, *The King's Men* continues the high standards of past publications on the Ganda. In the light of Dr. Richards's final observation, a follow-up study in, say, five years should be carried out.

Peter C. W. Gutkind

Nigerian Political Parties. By RICHARD L. SKLAR. Princeton University Press, 1963. Pp. xi, 578. 100s.

HERE is yet another immense book about Nigeria. Where Kenneth Post traced the history of the parties as the background for a detailed election study, for Dr. Sklar elections are incidental to the history of the parties. The period that he covers is the ten years preceding independence; his investigation on the spot was done in 1957–8, and he was able to attend

various party conventions and other inner-party gatherings.

After a general introduction, Dr. Sklar first gives an all-Nigeria history of the development of parties in the context of the various constitutional changes and then takes each of the three regions in more detail. I say regions, although the chapter headings of this section imply that they deal with parties; the chapter on Ibadan is concerned with the Mabolaje and its alliance with the NCNC, and surely belongs more to the story of that party than to the place given it, after the account of the Action Group. This is perhaps the most interesting part of this section; Dr. Sklar for the first time traces out all the discontents in Ibadan which made it the point of entry for the NCNC into the Western Region.

In classifying parties he follows Duverger, as also in dividing them into those based on Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. In so far as these words symbolize the contrast that we are all constantly drawing today between 'Western' and 'non-Western', 'peasant' and 'industrialized', 'small-scale' and 'large-scale' or what have you, they offer an appropriate starting-point for an analysis of a system that is only partly a spontaneous growth, since the constitutional framework within which the parties operate is, in the African context, an artificial structure. They stand for ideal types, as Dr. Sklar points out; and he does not think there is an unbridgeable gap between them. On the contrary, he believes that the strength of 'communal' (gemeinschaftlich) tradition, and the pressures which it generates, is an effective check on potential dictatorial ambitions, and that the intensity of demand from the village level for policies of social welfare is evidence that the masses are by no means indifferent to modern political rights. We still need in Africa the type of close analysis of the nature of the relation between the voter and his representative that is beginning to be made in India.

British students of African politics have reason to be grateful for the amount of work that American scholars are doing. But in reading this book, as with so many others, one is irked by the misuse of technical terms that have a precise meaning applicable to stages through which all commonwealth countries have passed on the way to independence. Representative and responsible government are concepts which do not need quotation marks. When ministers are revocable as individuals by a vote of the Assembly, the rules are

different from the conventions of collective cabinet responsibility, but they are certainly responsible to the legislature; it is meaningless to say that they are 'not responsible in the traditional sense' (p. 118). Semi-responsible government does not mean that ministers are half responsible; it means that some ministers are not responsible at all (the officials). And by whom is the leader of the opposition 'appointed'? No doubt these words are ceasing to be part of the political vocabulary of Nigeria, but if this book is being read in a few years' time, it will be as history, and students of history like to have the terms correct.

LUCY MAIR

A History of Africa South of the Sahara. By Donald L. Wiedner. London: Bell, 1964. Pp. 578, maps. 60s.

L'EXPANSION de l'histoire africaine est un phénomène des temps nouveaux. Voici que son enseignement a gagné le très boréal état d'Alberta, au Canada, où M. Wiedner enseigne l'histoire à l'université locale. Son Histoire de l'Afrique est un essai loyal et vivant pour initier des étudiants lointains au passé inconnu du Continent Noir. Cela suppose beaucoup de simplifications, un certain don du pittoresque, des cartes schématiques nombreuses et claires. M. Wiedner a, à tous ces égards, parfaitement réussi et je suis certain qu'il aura intéressé ses élèves et bien d'autres.

Une telle entreprise n'est pas sans risques. Il faut sacrifier beaucoup. M. Wiedner, malgré son titre, s'est limité à l'Afrique noire strictissimo sensu, c'est-à-dire qu'il exile de son livre le Soudan, l'Éthiopie, les Somalies et Madagascar. Il ne consacre que le minimum de développement à l'histoire avant 1600 et au domaine non anglophone. (L'histoire coloniale française est expédiée en 4 pages.) On trouve également, par ci par là, dans le texte ou dans les cartes, des hypothèses fragiles brusquement revêtues de l'armure des vérités invincibles. Il y a aussi des théories imprévues, et d'autant plus charmantes; telle (page 186) une curieuse tentative pour faire du darwinisme la source de l'impérialisme.

Toutes les histoires de l'Afrique ne se ressemblent pas, et c'est fort heureux pour les professionnels. Je ferais plutôt le reproche à M. Wiedner d'innover insuffisamment. Son Histoire est essentiellement politique, axée sur la colonisation et la décolonisation. C'est une histoire européenne avant tout. La transformation interne profonde qui a été l'essentiel de l'histoire africaine depuis un siècle (l'abolition de la distance et de l'isolement, avec ses conséquences culturelles et sociales) se trouve à peu près passée sous silence. Mais c'est une conception trop récente pour que l'on puisse reprocher à M. Wiedner d'avoir conservé un européocentrisme encore si répandu chez les Européens et si souvent partagé par les Américains . . . et même par les anti-Européens.

Hubert Deschamps

Africa in Time-Perspective. By DANIEL F. MACCALL. London: Oxford University Press, and Ghana University Press, 1964. Pp. xix, 175, ill. 25s.

LE présent ouvrage est la publication d'une série de cours donnés par l'auteur à l'University College de Ghana en 1961. D'abord projeté comme un guide des techniques de la recherche historique en Afrique, il fut réalisé comme une méthodologie de la reconstruction historique, une synthèse de toutes les méthodes individuelles employées.

La confrontation des diverses méthodes utilisées en Afrique, de la valeur d'une série de données opposée à celle d'une autre série, fait d'ailleurs l'originalité de l'ouvrage. Archéologie, tradition orale, linguistique, ethnologie, paléobotanique, comment hiérarchiser ces sources de l'histoire africaine? Que peut-on attendre de chacune? Comment faire lorsque l'une sera en contradiction avec l'autre? L'auteur fait ressortir d'abord les liens entre les diverses méthodes et techniques. L'archéologie, utilisant les ressources de nombreuses

spécialités, fera revivre la vie matérielle d'un pays donné et sera parfois la seule source importante qui nous restera pour évoquer une civilisation disparue. La tradition orale, l' héritage des oreilles 'selon l'excellente formule que l'auteur a reprise aux Hova de Madagascar, nous rapportera les mythes, les légendes, les contes, etc. d'un peuple donné et les historiens africains, à la suite de Jan Vansina, en font de plus en plus largement usage. La linguistique nous donnera de précieux éléments de datation, en particulier en nous indiquant à quelle époque des dialectes se sont séparés de la langue-mère. Elle fera apparaître aussi des parentés entre des langues qui paraissent fort éloignées les unes des autres. L'ethnologie, l'anthropologie physique, la sociologie, l'ethno-botanique, l'ethno-zoologie, l'épidémiologie, l'art, etc., fourniront tous des données nouvelles à l'historien, qui avec leur aide établira sa 'nouvelle stratégie'.

Nous accueillons avec plaisir le vœu (p. 150 seq.) de la création d'un Institut de la Recherche historique africaine, qui coordonnerait les travaux, établirait un plan de recherches, recueillerait et étudierait les restes archéologiques et formerait les chercheurs.

Au sujet des illustrations, ne sont-elles pas plutôt 'ethnologiques' qu' 'historiques'? Malgré les explications données (pp. 157-8) on ne voit pas bien parfois le lien entre telle figure et le chapitre qu'elle illustre. L'on ne voit pas bien non plus pourquoi l'on a séparé la légende des illustrations d'une part (pp. 157-8) et les notes sur les citations placées en tête de chaque chapitre d'autre part (p. 159), des illustrations et des citations mêmes. Par ailleurs (p. 33), Bonnel de Mézières n'a jamais trouvé de tarikh au cours de ses fouilles de Koumbi Saleh: les termites rendent la conservation de tels documents dans le sol absolument impossible.

Malgré ces critiques mineures, nous considérons que l'ouvrage de D. MacCall arrive à son heure, les historiens de l'Afrique noire ayant à réfléchir désormais plus que jamais sur la méthodologie de leur discipline, si différente de celle de l'histoire dite 'classique', telle que nous la pratiquions sur le continent noir jusqu'à ces toutes dernières décades.

R. MAUNY

West African Studies. By MARY KINGSLEY. Third Edition with an introduction by John E. Flint. London: Frank Cass, 1964. Pp. lxvii, 499, ill., map. 60s.

Mary Kingsley's Travels in West Africa and West African Studies are two major African classics that have long been out of print and are now almost unobtainable in the second-hand book market. We have reason to be very grateful therefore to Messrs. Cass & Co. for their decision to reprint them and for getting a biographer of the calibre of J. E. Flint to write a new introduction to the volume now published. West African Studies, third edition, is a reprint of the second edition of 1901, which was published posthumously at the height of Mary Kingsley's fame—she had just died on active service in the South African War. It was designed as a popular edition and it contained, as four additional chapters, a number of her lectures and articles on African religion and law, on West African property, and on Imperialism in West Africa. To make way for this expansion two important historical documents by De Cardi and Harford which had formed appendixes in the first editions were omitted. We are told that these will be republished separately.

In his introduction Dr. Flint gives us an excellent and concise sketch of Mary Kingsley's life and a more controversial assessment of her achievements, concentrating principally on her political activities and on her attempts to influence British colonial policy in West Africa. He maintains that 'her view of African Personality is the central and basic idea in this work and that from it all her other arguments are developed. . . . Upon it in the end rests her condemnation of missionary work and colonial office rule. . . . Her object was to reject both

the idea of basic human equality propounded by the missionaries and the current concepts of a real inferiority of intelligence put forward by the ethnologists '(pp. lxi, lxii). But is Dr. Flint being fair either to the missionaries or to the ethnologists, or for that matter to

Mary Kingsley?

In the first place Mary Kingsley makes a clear distinction which Dr. Flint seems to have missed between missionaries and what she calls 'the mission party'. On page 272 she wrote: 'the next class is the philanthropic party. It is commonly confused with the missionary but there is this fundamental difference between them. The missionary loves God more than he loves himself or any man. The philanthropist loves man: but he or she is frequently no better than people who kill lap dogs with over-feeding.... It is, however, nowadays hopeless to attempt to separate these two species ... and they together ... constitute what is called the Mission party ... I believe this alliance has done immense harm to the true Missionary.'

In the second place Mary Kingsley considered herself and called herself an ethnologist (p. 450) and I doubt very much if ethnologists subscribed to any view of racial inferiority at that time (1899). It would be interesting to know the names of the 'learned gentlemen . . . solemnly wandering round Africa with the object of measuring the skull sizes of various African tribes so as to demonstrate that the weight of their brains seriously fell below that of the white races ' (p. xxxvii). My impression is that although some early work was done (e.g. by Felkin and by Falkenstein in 1879) on collecting the physical measurements of Africans it was at that time, that is before 1900, for normal taxonomic purposes of record and definition. The idea of racial superiority and inferiority developed in Europe from totally different sources, and not till after Mary Kingsley's death were attempts made to test these theories and to prove these hypotheses by measuring the size and the capacity of African crania (e.g. the most notorious of these was Bain, published in 1922). Indeed, Mary Kingsley herself seems if anything to have been inclined to this idea of racial inferiority. On p. 329 she writes: 'My feelings classify the world's inhabitants into Englishmen by which I mean Teutons at large, foreigners and blacks which I subdivide into English blacks (which are Africans) and foreign blacks (which are Indians, Chinese and the rest).' She was careful to point out, however, that this was a matter of feelings, not of scientifically based opinion, feelings 'which I am informed by superior people would barely be a credit to a cave man of the palaeolithic period'.

Again, is Dr. Flint right in saying that Mary Kingsley regarded her 'alternative plan' of colonial government as the climax of her book and that the book's lasting significance lay in 'the philosophic theory of African personality which was meant to justify this plan'? (p.lxv)

Mary Kingsley was an anthropologist and her emphasis on 'fetish religion' reflects the views of other anthropologists of her period and their preoccupation with religion and magic. When she wrote about 'the African mind' she made the distinction later made by Lévy-Bruhl between mystically oriented and logically (scientifically) oriented mentality. 'The African mind approaches all things from a supernatural point of view . . . [he thinks] that things happen because of the action of spirit upon spirit . . . we think . . . that things happen from the action of matter upon matter' (p. 330). This did not mean, however, that she considered the African 'pre-logical'. She was at pains to stress that he was essentially a reasonable man. 'He is a logical and practical man with feelings that are a credit to him, and are particularly strong in the direction of property: he has a way of thinking he has rights and will fight for them. Fight you for a religious idea the African will not' (p. 318). This is hardly a philosophical theory of personality, and her approach to African problems and African religion throughout was functional rather than psychological—'A very short residence amongst either Negro or Bantu tribes will make you ask the question "How is the society maintained?" You can see it is closely knit together, you can see that every

member of it is responsible to or for some other member . . . the thing that holds the society

together is Fetish religion' (p. 407).

Her real claim to fame is that she was first and foremost a social anthropologist, probably the first and certainly the most brilliant advocate of what is now known as applied anthropology. This was the reason why those responsible for colonial policy consulted her and went on valuing her opinions long after she was dead. Her detailed criticism of existing colonial practices and the devastating way in which she used her knowledge of local institutions to destroy cherished European imperialist illusions about their African subjects established for all time the contribution that social anthropology can make to colonial administration. It is not, however, the function of social anthropology, pure or applied, to provide blueprints of colonial systems of government, and when she sought to do this with her 'alternative system' in Chapter XVII she was immediately out of her depth and governed by personal prejudices and errors as strong as those she was seeking to oppose.

Dr. Flint ends like all good biographers with a paradox: 'for all her radical language Mary Kingsley was a complete and even reactionary conservative. . . . She was attempting to fossilize the conditions of the 1880's, she wished to shield the African from all change . . . the new dynamism in reality came from Joseph Chamberlain and his appointees like Lugard' (p. lxiv). This assertion, that she wished to shield the African from all change, hardly accords with what Mary Kingsley wrote on p. 327: 'If you will try science, all the evils of the clash between the two culture periods could be avoided and you could assist these West Africans in their thirteenth century state to rise into their nineteenth century state without their having the hard fight for it that you had.' Or with her insistence (on p. 357) that 'all education should be in the hands of the missions . . . that every scholar should have the opportunity of acquiring a sound education in English. . . . Give him this knowledge and your brilliant young African has demonstrated that he can rise to any examination . . . a European University offers him.'

The paradox is there, however, but the twist is rather different. Her 'alternative system' was, as Dr. Flint rightly says, an attempt to put the clock back and restore the system of the 1880's, but the principle on which it was based, and which she calls the rule-the-natives-on-native-lines doctrine, was one that became the corner-stone of later British colonial policy. 'You don't give them representation by giving them our parliamentary franchise which you cannot let them use: you would give them representation by representing in our councils concerning their interests their own local government system, one developed by the genius of the people and adapted to their local environment. The native state form can be developed and it is healthy, the other [the crown colony system, i.e. Direct Rule] is a disease' (p. 446). What is this if not the 'Indirect Rule' which Lugard later developed and applied in Northern Nigeria and which was eventually extended to most parts of British Colonial Africa?

New Nations. By Lucy Mair. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963. Pp. 235. 255.

This book is written for a general audience on the changes taking place in underdeveloped societies as a consequence of Western impact. In my opinion it is by far the best of the several books in which this task has been attempted.

Professor Mair is concerned not with modern nation-states but with changes in systems of social relationships of small-scale indigenous societies affected and altered in recent years by the impact of the outside world. She does not deal with the personalities of modern politicians but with changes in the life of farmers and peasants, the people who bear the brunt of modern developments often without seeing much of the wealth that these may bring. She shows that blanket terms such as 'nationalism', 'tribalism', 'detribalization',

'individualization', and the rest hide more than they illuminate; it is precisely the social changes which they do hide which are ultimately of significance for understanding what actually goes on in the 'developing' nations.

To understand this process needs a theoretical framework in which social change or culture contact can be studied. Professor Mair therefore begins with an analysis of key terms such as 'culture' and 'social structure', and of the nature of small-scale societies; this is lucidly done, an example of how clear thinking can make a discussion of a complex subject

simple.

The central chapters of the book deal with the several aspects of social life and the nature of the changes that have occurred in recent years: economy, family, politics, urbanism, and religion. Her basic argument is that people are enmeshed in networks of social relationships, which they manipulate for various ends and with varying motives. As the scale of the society is widened with external impact, so does the range of available choices widen, and the choices they make determine the kind of change that occurs in these relationships. Most of the examples she gives come from Africa, and she gives a vivid picture of what is happening to the people of the rapidly changing areas of the world. These chapters are written without the jargon which disfigures so much writing on these topics.

Her last chapter discusses some sociological theories about the nature of social change. In my opinion too much space is devoted to Malinowski, whose theories in this field have not stood the test of time. But apart from this, this chapter provides a useful summary of the work done by sociologists and anthropologists. Professor Mair emphasizes that we deal with society, not with individuals as such, and that psychologically oriented explanations of social processes do not answer questions about social phenomena.

This book gives a most useful conspectus of the process of social change at the 'grassroots' level. It is extremely well written, and it shows the author's common sense as well as her sensibility to the real and basic problems of social development.

JOHN MIDDLETON

The Second Generation: A Study of the Family among Urbanized Bantu in East London. By B. A. Pauw. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, for Rhodes University Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1963. Pp. 220, ill. 40s.

This is the last in the trilogy Xhosa in Town. In The Second Generation we meet an important new product of the African drift to the towns: the urban-born African. While not new to West Africa, which could have provided interesting comparative material, in Central and Southern Africa the urban-born African is likely to be of considerable influence on his rural counterpart and of no mean importance politically and otherwise. Indeed, some African leaders are likely to reflect on the influence of this group on national development in Africa as a whole.

Pauw offers several important observations (taken from East London, S.A.) linking these closely to Mayer's earlier Townsmen or Tribesmen. Firstly, he challenges the rural-urban dichotomy, showing that 'Westernization' began long ago in the rural areas, often ignored in some urban studies, although certain traditional values such as boys' initiation and lobolo still have considerable 'emotional' importance. Thus Pauw views urbanization as 'essentially a feature of contact with whites and Western culture' and much of the activity as 'largely determined by Western behaviour patterns'. Secondly, we are introduced to the 'matrifocal' family which 'dispenses with a husband/father from the very beginning' and thus leads to comparison with R. T. Smith's analysis. Thirdly, Pauw's aim was 'not merely to indicate the existence of cultural diversity, but also to discern cultural types or categories'. Hence, four economic categories are isolated, using the case-study method, showing house-

hold composition, family life, education, material culture, occupation, religious life, attitudes to witchcraft, and some other indexes. Wisely, Pauw points out that 'urban Bantu society appears to be in a fluid, transitional state, in which broad, inclusive structural groupings are still absent or vague . . .'.

This fluidity is well documented in chapters dealing with the family, pre-marital sex relations, marriage and children, household and family structure, and particularly with the fact that 74 per cent. of the unmarried females of the sample (ages 25–35) had at least one child before marriage—a radical departure from Xhosa tradition. While there is 'no doubt that there is a strong matrifocal trend in [urban] households', and of a young woman 'contributing to the growth of her family of origin before she gets married', leading to a three-generation matrifocal-centred family pattern, patrilineal patterns are still strong where the husband/father is present. Not surprisingly, the Western type of elementary family does not as yet predominate among the urban Bantu. Nor is matrifocality 'confined to certain cultural [and economic] types'. Perhaps not until future urban-born generations shall we know whether matrifocality is a 'system of domestic relations'. However, Pauw suggests that a growing class distinction may increase the husband/father role because some 'important external relations of the household' increase. Studies of matrilineal peoples and their adaptation to urban conditions should now be made.

The author concludes that urban-born Africans 'tend to build up a completely new town-centred network into which they draw whatever kin they can and wish to', and that ascribed status is of 'little significance in the urban structure'. On the tribalism versus townsmen issue, Pauw considers tribalism of lesser importance, concluding that there is an 'obvious consciousness of an inclusive Bantu nationalism'; tribalism is not an 'important category of interaction'. Group activity, he writes, 'takes place according to the principle of association rather than kinship', a statement in need of further documentation. Pauw's explanation that traditional behaviour patterns 'have a particular emotional appeal in situations of social insecurity', particularly the insecurity 'over socialization of its male youths', is a hypothesis which appears to spring from his rejection that moral norms 'reflect a particular structural situation'. In his view 'true moral norms transcend any particular social structure and have absolute validity'. Apart from this assertion, unlikely to be shared by many, The Second Generation is a significant contribution to African urban studies.

Peter C. W. Gutkind

Shona Religion. By MICHAEL GELFAND. Cape Town: Juta, 1962. Pp. 184, map. 37s. 6d.

In this, his third work on the Shona-speaking peoples, Dr. Gelfand describes some religious beliefs and ritual practices of the Korekore, a northern dialect group. The descriptions of the various rituals are detailed and illustrated by a number of fine photographs. The author, a medical practitioner and an authority on tropical medicine, collected his data in his spare time over a period of three years. He is to be commended for his patient labours in a field hitherto neglected by professional anthropologists.

As in his previous work on the Zezuru (Shona Ritual) Dr. Gelfand deals mainly with various categories of spirits: mhondoro, ngozi, shave, and mudzimu. To me the most interesting sections are those which deal with the mhondoro cult and the spirit mediums. Spirit possession, as the author demonstrates, is a common feature of Korekore society, yet with the mhondoro spirits we are confronted by a possession cult of a different order. The mhondoro spirits, often the spirits of tribal progenitors but occasionally of chthonic origin, are represented by mediums, each associated with a definite territory. One of the exciting features of this organization is that the spirit territories do not appear to be coterminous with present political divisions.

The book's major weakness is its lack of an analytic framework. While we are presented with a series of excellent descriptions of rituals together with their liturgical content no attempt has been made to set them firmly in their social context, or to integrate them into a meaningful whole. The numerous shave cults, for example, appear to provide ritual associations which may cut across political, residential, and kinship affiliations, but it is impossible to grasp their full significance without details of their composition. Similarly, while Dr. Gelfand gives considerable information on the spirit mediums, 'spirit provinces', and the hierarchies into which the mediums are ranked, we are unable to assess, from the data supplied, the extent and function of this organization and how far it may be 'supratribal', bringing together small autonomous chiefdoms into some kind of wider polity.

G. KINGSLEY GARBETT

Social and Ritual Life of the Ambo. By Bronislaw Stefaniszyn. London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute, 1964. Pp. xii, 171. 325. 6d.

THE boundary line between the territories of Northern Rhodesia and the south-eastern Congo wanders in an arbitrary and ethnographically irrelevant way. For its part any ethnographic classification in that region produces a pattern of jutting promontories and inlets, invading empires such as the Luba, Bemba, and Ngoni, small independent village systems, patriliny and matriliny, hunters and agriculturalists.

The Ambo inhabit fertile lands north of the confluence of the Lukusashi and Luangwa rivers. There seems to have been no shortage of game, but the Ambo appear more interested in agriculture than in hunting; they raise four maize crops in a year. Like other matrilineal peoples in the cluster of tribes related to the Bemba, they claim to have migrated from Luba country in the Congo. The Maravi too claim Congo origins, but the Bemba migration came later

This book, by a missionary ethnographer who spent many years of his life with the Ambo and has already published articles of interest on their culture, is very much to be welcomed, not least because we are assured in the foreword by Dr. Apthorpe that what is said holds good more widely for Lala and Nsenga, as well as for Ambo. Dr. Apthorpe should be thanked for editing a very voluminous manuscript which all too probably would have remained unpublished so long as the author's pastoral duties made a prior claim on his time. I am particularly grateful for the publication. It may be the peculiarity of Ambo culture or it may be the freshness of the ethnographer's approach, but he has certainly produced material which links Northern Rhodesia with cultures in the Kasai and Leopoldville Provinces of the Congo.

The editor suggests that this novel perspective on Central African field-work is the happy result of the author's freedom from the constraining sociological theories of what he calls the 'Manchester school' mediated by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. Indeed, the editor's foreword is a very suggestive and stimulating criticism of the kind of blinkers which any rigid scheme of hypothesis may impose on field observation, although I am not sure that the strictures are deserved by those who have reported on British Central Africa. It has always been plain that this whole Nyasaland-Rhodesian region was heavily raided and invaded and thoroughly trampled over in the century before British colonial rule flattened the cultural profile still more. I have always supposed the rather arid and narrowly sociological perspectives were as much the product of the terrain as of the observer's frame of reference. But perhaps there is something in Dr. Apthorpe's criticism after all, for the Ambo seem to have had as disturbed a nineteenth century as anyone. They fought the Bemba, were raided by Ngoni, and presumably were harassed by Arabs, and yet four or five features which seem to have disappeared elsewhere are still here to be reported in some detail.

For some Central African tribes the clan has seemed to have little function, while the village has been treated as the central unit of sociological importance. Among the Ambo the relation of lineages to the dispersed clan as well as to the village gives more weight to the clan as the field of recruitment to the localized lineage, which is itself described as a rallying-point or home for scattered members who hope one day to rejoin it. Each minor lineage would like ideally to have its own village, but this ambition, in matrilineal circumstances, involves a contradiction already ably analysed by Mitchell and Turner. It requires two standards of behaviour, one which applies in the first person and another in the third. An Ambo would like to live with his own wife and children in his own lineage and village, but he would like stranger clans to cluster in his village and away from their own, so that his village can be an endogamous unit without breaking the rule of clan exogamy.

The superiority of owning lineage to stranger lineages in the Ambo village is reminiscent equally of Yao and Congolese studies. I am not altogether convinced that the term lineage, in the sense of a genealogical structure, applies here, partly because the author has insisted that dispersed clansmen may some day rally to the village they call home. This, together with the natural difficulty of working out and recalling relationships in the female line after dispersal, taken together with the example of Lele recruiting zeal and lack of genealogical aptitude, leads me to suspect that here we may have more widely recruited clan sections of the Lele type, rather than matrilineal groups which shed their fringes in the Plateau Tonga style or splitting lineages of the Yao type. True, a genealogical table of intermarriage in an Ambo village is given, but as some of the signs are ambiguous (even in one case so as to imply brother-sister marriage), the interpretation remains open. The author should not, perhaps, be too severely criticized for small discrepancies in the technicality of kinship. For example, the statement (pp. 9, 12, and 110) that grandparent and grandchild marriages can never override clan exogamy, need not have been contradicted by the diagram facing p. 27, and there is no interpreting a peculiar reference to agnatic matrilineages on p. 35.

Three features of Ambo organization which link up with the matrilineal systems of the Congo are pawnship, indirect retaliation for dispute settlement, grandparent/grandchild marriage, and for good value as a fourth point we may add chiefs who are not rulers. The custom of transferring pawns for the peaceful settlement of adultery, blood compensation and other specified disputes is absolutely central to Lele social organization (fully described in the J.R.A.I. 1960). It has been mentioned briefly in several Central African sources (often under the name of slavery) and in many Congolese sources. Any such system involves a major modification of kinship patterns and if it has existed cannot be relegated to a minor place in the analysis. The Ambo instances of pawnship recorded here help to complete the chain of occurrences, which suggests that this institution was a characteristic of matrilineal kinship systems from the Atlantic to the east coast. Grandparent/grandchild marriage is explicitly arranged by the Ambo, as also by the Ndembu, in order to conserve village membership, and this again fits as part of a long chain of similar customs in the same great coast-to-coast wedge of matrilineal peoples.

The custom of indirect self-help by retaliating for an injury in attacking a third party who is left to recover his loss from the original offender is rarer, though it is recorded for the Lamba and Cokwe (see J.R.A.I. 1960 and The Lele of the Kasai, 1963, for fuller accounts of the Lele variants). I find it hard to accept the idea that the chiefs of the Ambo, in the light of this system of self-help, ever enjoyed the political authority which the author attributes to them. His editor certainly remarks that Ambo chiefs' judicial powers are likely to have been greater under British rule than formerly. But the author maintains that these chiefs have always had great ceremonial significance; they did not play a central role in cult and ritual for their chiefdom. Therefore, he seems to imply, as they were not priests (p. 67) they

must have been political rulers (p. 72). But this does not necessarily follow, in default of other evidence. At risk of flogging a comparison to death I would mention that the Lele 'chiefs' present a strikingly similar case, except that there is no evidence that they ever played a strong political role, and much evidence to suggest that they could not. I like to think of their aristocratic clan as something in the nature of Bagehot's constitutional monarch, performing important display functions which, though not closely linked to either politics or religion, are important for social solidarity.

The chapter on religion gives texts of songs and prayers and some account of divination, omens, and medicines, but it hardly justifies the expectations aroused by the editor's foreword about a people's philosophical concepts providing relevant categories of sociological generalization.

In conclusion, it must be clear that I found this a most interesting and enlightening book, and not least because of the provocative sign-posting in the editor's foreword. It is an anachronism in the 1960's to think of Central Africa as if the boundaries imposed by former colonists enclosed ethnographically significant areas. The book does not merely fill a small ethnographic hole, as is modestly suggested, it bridges a wide gulf, or rather shows that there is no advantage in maintaining that any gulf exists.

MARY DOUGLAS

Nigerian Images. By WILLIAM FAGG, photographs by Herbert List. London: Lund Humphries, 1963. Text pp. 32, plates 144, map. £4. 45.

This is a magnificent picture book of Nigerian plastic art selected by William Fagg, photographed by Herbert List, and intended for the connoisseur rather than the student. Its chief value lies in the range of the 60 or more plates of 'Benin' bronzes and the 37 Yoruba carvings and bronzes (the other styles are too sparsely represented to give one any real idea of their characteristics). Mr. List is an artist and he gives his feelings about African art full rein in these plates, chosen with great care by Mr. Fagg. In most cases he is completely successful, in a few cases he is not, and the result is unduly distorted or obscure (Pls. 1, 2, 6, and 7). Mr. Fagg maintains (p. 16) that by using their own special brands of artificial lighting, other photographers of Negro African art have been able to 'put something of themselves' into their photographs, that Mr. List has avoided this and by 'the almost unheard-of technique 'of using daylight has been able to avoid the 'dramatic' photography and to achieve the 'closest sympathy with the original artists' and has 'liberated for us the real nature of these sculptures '. I think he wrongs Mr. List in suggesting he has not 'put something of himself into his photographs '; he would not be worth commissioning unless he could. African art is meant to be dramatic and Mr. List has done his best to express something of this dramatic quality in a manner which can be appreciated by people educated in the Western European tradition—that is, by people accustomed to looking at photographs. As for the African artists' feelings, I very much doubt if many of them would even recognize the objects depicted in some of these plates, bearing in mind that a great deal of their sculpture was painted in bright colours, while these reproductions are in varying shades of grey against a background of darkest African black.

When one comes to the supporting text, one's criticisms are directed primarily at the lack of knowledge that exists in the field of African art and archaeology. By a fortunate accident of alluvial tin-mining a number of remarkably fine terra-cotta heads and other fragments have been unearthed in the Plateau region. They have been dated by archaeologists to between 500 B.C. and A.D. 200 and dubbed the Nok culture. Apart from this we are still back in the age of Frobenius, with ethno-historical speculations about the date of the Ife terra-cottas and bronzes, about the connexion between Nok and Ife, and about the derivation of Benin bronze-casting from Ife. When it comes to Benin bronzes there is enough

material available for it to be sorted out on typological grounds into a number of different periods and styles, but there are not enough historical or archaeological supporting data to make these more than tentative hypotheses. Two people are working on it, Mr. Fagg and Professor Dark, and it will be interesting to see whether they come to the same conclusions.

In the second section, dealing with 'recent tribal arts', Mr. Fagg develops a point he made in a previous article ('De l'art des Yoruba' in 'L'Art nègre', Présence Africaine, 1951) about the need to recognize the individual artist as well as the art style, and names a number of these artists, mainly Yoruba. He then discusses the 'tribality of African Art' before going on to explain its psychological meaning in terms of a life force and energy and of exponential curves of growth. One must nowadays accept the fact that no book on Negro African Art is complete without its dose of African metaphysics, but Mr. Fagg's is fairly innocuous and not too hard to swallow. What I cannot accept is his 'tribalization' of Nigerian art styles. One can for convenience define an object carved in a particular style by the name of the tribe or people who carved it and who used it. One can also define it by the name of the tribe in whose locality it was collected, but one must distinguish between these two methods and not mix them up as Mr. Fagg does. Some of his plates are classified according to the tribes among whom they were collected, regardless of their style, others according to their style alone, regardless of the tribe who made or used them. This muddle has long been characteristic of books on West African sculpture and we have grown familiar with masks carved in a Yoruba style by Yoruba tribesmen being labelled Dahomey in French art books and museum catalogues. In the same way skin-covered masks carved in the Cross River area, whether produced by Ekoi or Ibo or Mbembe or Ibibio-speaking tribes, and whatever their style, are always labelled Ekoi. Mr. Fagg, instead of trying to clear things up by a careful definition of what he means by a style and by distinguishing between tribal area and tribal style, merely adds to the confusion. Thus we find two rams' heads (Pls. 102 and 103) in the same style labelled respectively Yoruba and Bini, two masks in what is usually called the Ijo style labelled Bini because they were collected at Ughoton, the port of Benin (Pls. 106 and 107), and, if we turn back to the bronzes, there is a figure (Pl. 10) in the Benin style dug up in Benin which is labelled Ancient Ife because it 'appears to represent an Oni of Ife in full ceremonial robes '.

There are indeed considerable difficulties in using 'tribal' names as labels for particular art styles and nowhere more so than in Nigeria. The 'tribes' are either too large or too small, and while some people like the Ijo or the Yoruba may have a recognizable and generic style (with a number of local variations), others like the Ibo have a number of different styles, some of which they share with neighbouring tribes. There are also a number of small tribes and tribal fragments, particularly in Northern Nigeria, which have no real style—that is a continuous tradition of sculpture—and which produce an occasional artist who either carves in a manner that is all his own (e.g. Pl. 138 and 139) or tries to copy something he has seen elsewhere. These are the pieces which give such headaches to curators, particularly when the labels get lost or muddled (e.g. Pl. 143, which is of a figure carved in a style which could be mistaken for Yoruba). It is now labelled Afo after the tribe who probably made it, but was for a long time classified in the Horniman Museum as Tiv. Could we appeal to Mr. Fagg, in his next essay on Nigerian Art, to 'detribalize his art styles' and define them a little more precisely?

G. I. Jones

Rudimentos de Lingua Maconde. By M. VIEGAS GUERREIRO. Lourenço Marques: Instituto de Investigação Científica de Moçambique, 1963. Pp. 152.

THE Makonde Plateau is divided roughly in half by the wide valley of the Ruvuma River. The northern half of the plateau is in Tanganyika and the southern half is in Portuguese Territory.

The Tanganyika Makonde generally regard themselves as more sophisticated than their southerly neighbours. It is true that some of their more elderly matrons may wear large liprings, but the custom is dying fast, whereas amongst the Makonde of Portuguese Territory even some of the men still sport a lip-ring and all are heavily tattooed. The Tanganyika Makonde refer to their southerly neighbours as 'Maviha', a deprecatory title accepted with no sense of deprecation by non-Makonde in Tanganyika, and this title probably relates to the Makonde verbal-viha, 'be angry'. Naturally the southern Makonde resent this term, and indeed they scarcely deserve to be known as 'the Angry Ones', for they are a cheerful and resourceful people. Even in Africa appearances can be deceptive, and it would be a mistake to be misled by the heavy cicatrice markings into thinking that the Southern Makonde are just angry men from the bush. They travel extensively in East Africa in search of work, usually giving satisfaction to their employers, and are in much demand on the sisal estates of Tanganyika. It is true they are generally less Westernized than the Tanganyika Makonde, but the reasons for this are political rather than natural. In some ways they are more gifted than the Makonde of Tanganyika. They produce the best wood-carvers in the whole of East Africa, better even than the Kamba.

Their language has only rarely been mentioned in print. Among the early travellers and missionaries Bleek, Livingstone, Steere, Maples, and O'Neill referred to it. Nearly twenty-five years ago the present reviewer compiled An Outline of Maviha Grammar (Bantu Studies, vol. xiv, no. 2, 1940) from information gathered in Tanganyika from southern Makonde informants. It was with pleasant anticipation then that he looked forward to reviewing this study of the same language by M. Viegas Guerreiro, a missionary in Portuguese East Africa. There was the hope that residence in that country would have enabled M. Guerreiro to go beyond the rudiments of the language, but the author relies almost entirely upon the Outline just mentioned and upon some unpublished notes by Dutch missionaries. Here, as Macaulay might have put it, we must 'take such grammar as we can get, and be thankful'.

Besides the grammatical notes the book contains a brief phraseology along old-fashioned Western lines, fifteen short texts, fifty-six riddles, and a short vocabulary (Makonde-Portuguese and vice versa). None of this material is extensive enough to be of use either to a learner or to a scholar of the language. There is so much rich linguistic material in the speech of these delightful Makonde people of Portuguese East Africa that M. Guerreiro would have done better to have concentrated on one aspect of the language and to have dug deeper in one place.

Lyndon Harries

Die Sprache der Ful. By August Klingenheben. Hamburg: Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1963. (Afrikanistische Forschungen, Ed. Johannes Lukas, Band 1.) Pp. xxii, 461. DM. 70.

Die Grundlagen des Ful und das Mauretanische. By HANS G. MUKAROVSKY. Vienna: Verlag Herder, 1963. (Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe des Afro-Asiatischen Instituts in Wien, Band 1.) Pp. 201, map. Austr. Sch. 130.

OF these two recent books on Fula—each the first volume of a new series devoted to African, or Afro-Asian, studies—the first is by far the most comprehensive grammar of Fula (Fulani) that has appeared so far. Published in the author's 80th year, it draws together the material which he had previously presented in a series of important monographs on various aspects of the nominal class system and the phonology, and supplements this with a reasonably full account of the verbal system and other parts of speech. Its comprehensiveness and detail make it a valuable reference grammar; but the addition at appropriate points of twenty-three exercises (Fula–German and German–Fula) together with vocabularies of new words appropriate to the exercises, and alphabetical vocabularies at the end, mean that it can also be used as a teaching or teach-yourself grammar—at least by those with an aptitude

for languages. (The exercises would have been easier to use if the individual sentences had been numbered, for ease of reference to the 'answers' at the end of the book.)

Although this is essentially a grammar of the Adamawa dialect, the basic unity of Fula in all its dialects is such that many of the phonological and most of the morphological statements hold true not only for other parts of Nigeria, but also for dialects further west. The main differences would be in the vocabulary and in the shape of certain suffixes and pronominal forms.

The most valuable part of the book is undoubtedly the very full treatment of the nominal class system, with substantial lists of examples arranged according to class, grade of suffix, type of stem, &c. (the total number of substantives listed is well over 700). This part could scarcely be bettered. By comparison the description of the verbal system is less satisfactory, partly no doubt because of the atypical behaviour of the Adamawa dialect in some respects. Apart from the question of the middle voice (which is used less consistently in Adamawa than elsewhere), the treatment of the tenses is less reliable than that of the derivative verbal stems. For instance, Klingenheben cites only one past tense, the 'aorist', although in all other dialects there is a clear distinction between what may be called a general past and a relative past tense—the latter being confined to relative clauses and certain other types of clause, and containing the forms with 'inversion of the subject pronoun'. Granted that in the Adamawa dialect the distinction is partially obscured by the modern tendency (particularly in Yola itself) to use inverted forms less regularly than elsewhere, and the absence of a distinction between final long and short vowels in verbal suffixes; nevertheless one's experience, confirmed by examples in the plentiful texts published in this book, is that the distinction does exist even in Adamawa. The same is true also of the two corresponding 'ingressive/habitual' tenses.

On the other hand the author rightly treats the characteristic consonant alternance (permutation) system as fully operative in Adamawa as a whole, its absence in modern speech

being mainly confined to Yola and its environs.

A few other specific points are perhaps worth mentioning. (i) The transcription of vernacular words is consistently accurate; but the tilde placed below a consonant to indicate a nasal compound, though clear enough in the case of b and d, is scarcely noticeable under the italic j and g. (ii) Klingenheben rightly says that the subject pronoun is normally omitted when there is a noun subject preceding the verb, but fails to make the important point that this normally applies to all verbs referring to a noun subject in the same sentence, and not merely the first. Thus the Adamawa Fula for 'the hunter shot the hyena and killed it' would, in accordance with normal Fula practice, be lõhōwo fidi fouru, bari du, not '...o bari du' which Klingenheben gives (Exercise 3 (a) 4, and similarly elsewhere). (iii) hiddeko is surely followed by the subjunctive, not a past tense, sey 'until' by a past tense and not the subjunctive (Ex. 23 (a) 10 and 7). (iv) Are not -a and -e the normal Adamawa suffixes for the Imperative Middle, rather than -o (? confined to the dialects associated with Senegal, Gambia, and Guinea) and -ode (cited indeed by Labouret, but not encountered during my dialect survey)?

These minor points, however, detract little from the value of this extremely useful addition

to the literature on Fula.

The second of the two books reviewed here is a large-scale work of a different kind. By comparing lexical and morphological items and postulating specific sound-correspondences, Mukarovsky tries to establish the relationship of Fula on the one hand to Proto-Bantu (using Westermann's reconstructions) and on the other hand to Berber and, going further afield, to Basque; on this basis he postulates a pre-Berber language which he calls 'Mauretanian', and suggests some of its features. The diversity of the languages examined is such that the worth of this new contribution can be assessed only through the co-operation of

specialists in several different fields. The amount of detail presented certainly merits such attention.

D. W. Arnott

Textes berbères du Maroc (Parler des Ait Sadden). Par André Basset. Introduction de Mme Paulette Galand-Pernet. (Bibliothèque de l'École des Langues orientales vivantes.) Paris: Imprimerie Nationale et Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1963. Pp. xv, 200.

Après avoir signalé ici même (Africa, xxxii. 1, Janvier 1962, pp. 79–80) l'importance des travaux d'André Basset, malheureusement interrompus par la mort, je suis heureuse d'avoir à souligner à nouveau le dévouement de ses amis et élèves. Ceux-ci sacrifient leurs propres travaux pour publier les œuvres de leur maître. M. Pellat a édité les documents sur les Aît Frah des Aurès; Mme Galand-Pernet met au jour l'étude de la vie et de la langue des paysans du Maroc.

Les travaux d'André Basset, pour la plupart, portaient sur les populations algériennes de langue berbère. Ce nouvel ouvrage décrit, avec tous les soucis de méthode que nous avons soulignés ici même, un groupe du Maroc, celui des Aït Sadden, transhumants sédentarisés demeurant près de Fès.

La mort a empêché André Basset de classer méthodiquement ces textes. Madame Galand-Pernet a respecté scrupuleusement le manuscrit et les notes. On trouve ici la description d'une société, de langue berbère, qui, après avoir été indépendante, a été soumise à l'autorité centrale. Ainsi, ces Berbères, tout en gardant nombre de traditions anciennes, ont adopté l'Islam, ses pratiques et ses croyances. A côté du respect des lettrés et des chérifs descendants du Prophète, les Aït Sadden gardent l'usage de rites agraires: bris d'une grenade sur le soc de l'araire, promenade d'un mannequin pour faire tomber la pluie, jeu de crosse, etc.

Tous ces usages montrent bien l'unité du monde berbère. Les textes ne permettent malheureusement pas de bien comprendre à quel point l'Islam orthodoxe a été transformé par le maintien du substrat. Par contre, l'historien de la littérature trouve dans ces documents des indications utiles sur les poésies agonistiques que sont les izlan.

Ethnographes et sociologues liront avec profit les textes ayant trait aux interdits, à la magie se mêlant à la religion, et verront les réactions d'une société qui, sédentarisée et ayant perdu son indépendance, regrette l'ancien état de chose, malgré tous ses défauts.

Je pense publier, dans le Journal de la Société des Africanistes, une analyse plus détaillée, qui montrera toute l'importance de ce travail, qui fait regretter la mort de mon ancien maître.

MARCELLE URBAIN-FAUBLÉE

A Survey of Dar es Salaam. By J. A. K. Leslie. London: Oxford University Press for East African Institute of Social Research, 1963. Pp. 305, ill., map. 305.

By East and Southern African standards, Dar es Salaam is unusual: in 1957 over 93,000 Africans lived within its municipal boundaries; an absence of economic barriers such as high building standards has meant that, in 1956, there were at least 12,000 African-owned houses. Also, Dar es Salaam enjoys a respectable age, dating from the decision by Seiyid Majid, Arab Sultan of Zanzibar, to establish a mainland settlement about 100 years ago. In doing so he built on a number of fenced villages occupied by the Zaramo, who to this day are the largest single tribal community in the town. The urban growth-rate has been reasonably rapid, rising from an estimated 5,000 in 1886 to over 128,000 in 1957, including 43,363 Africans and an annual population increase of 9,200 between 1947 and 1952, and 5,530 between 1952 and 1957. This, and much other information, has been skilfully collected, involving 5,000 interviews during 1956, by Mr. Leslie, a former member of the Tanganyika Civil Service. While it was not his intention to offer a theoretical presentation, a

number of problems of considerable interest to students of urban Africa are discussed, such as various types of 'settledness' and the 'circular' nature of economic activity.

Like most of the non-indigenous towns in Africa, the history of Dar es Salaam's expansion relates to national development policies and the business cycle. Thus, in post-independence days, African leaders have considered urban splendour to be a show window of the nation.

Because the municipality of Dar es Salaam now covers a considerable area, very different types of settlements are found within the municipality, ranging from rural-type villages, which have the greatest social cohesion, to the very distinctive 'Swahili' house and the 'quarters' for individuals and families. Leslie analyses each grouping as well as tribal affiliation, still the main anchorage (at least initially) for many urbanites, and the family is described as the 'web of kinship'. Significantly, 'quarters' are much in demand, mostly by the more educated up-country Christian Africans, as these provide the opportunity of an urban style of life and greater privacy not found in village life or the Swahili house. The latter and the 'quarters' provide Leslie with some excellent descriptions of the occupants.

The bond of the *utani* relationship appears to have been the key to Dar es Salaam's initial growth by allowing tribesmen to travel through alien lands to reach the town—an early form of an African 'passport'. Tribal associations, which are treated in detail, are rejected by young men because they are run by once-important tribal elders and hence do not offer a channel for upward social and occupational mobility. Only some of the Christian upcountry tribes support such associations, feeling the need for 'someone of their own kind' in this predominantly Muslim town. Although Leslie states that there are no 'distinct suburbs or even pockets of a single tribe' (p. 38), yet he tells us that the Ngoni, in particular, 'settle in pockets' (p. 45).

An unusual section is that on debts, revealing extensive borrowing and pawning. Employment opportunity and advancement are very restricted and at least 19 per cent. of the men between 16 and 45 are unemployed—an explosive section of the community which has still to show its hand.

Leslie sometimes spoils his perceptive account with observations such as 'a coastal mentality' not based on ambition to work hard but on the 'ideal of the old Arab coconut plantation owners, in whose priorities leisure and a Hamlet-like freedom of choice ranked high...', or that the 'instinct to help the victim [of crime] and the forces of law and order is simply not there'. This is attributed to 'a fundamental Bantu way of thinking'.

A distinct weakness of this survey is that it gives virtually no information about Dar es Salaam as a total community. Commercial, work, and social relations with non-Africans are barely treated. African political activity is relegated to four unimportant pages. Nevertheless, the material is rich and, most valuable, arrangements have been made for an annual resurvey of part of the original survey area.

Peter C. W. Gutkind

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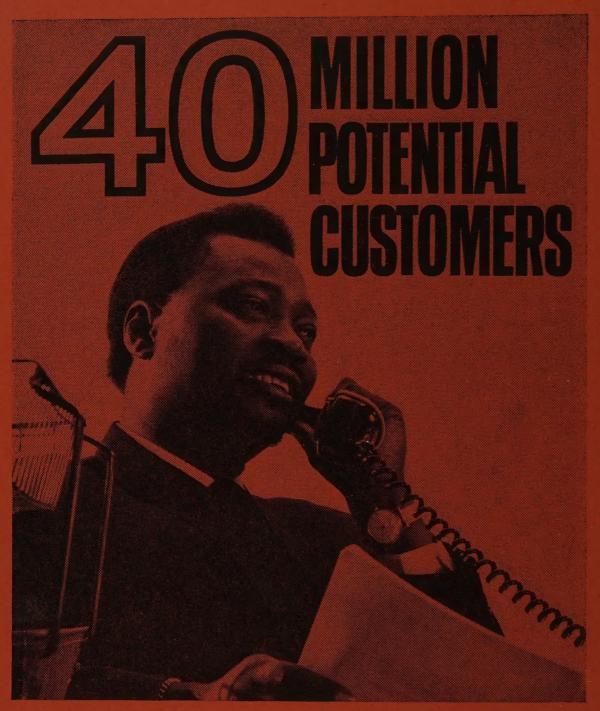
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